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## Tel Aviv MDs to strike today

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — Doctors at Tel Aviv's hospitals will launch a one-day strike today to press demands for the creation of 50 new posts.

Clinics at Ichilov, Rokaich and Souria hospitals will close and no operations will be performed. The hospitals will be run by skeleton staff, as on Saturdays and holidays.

The doctors' works-committee chairman, Dr. Nahman Ekstein, said yesterday that while the Health Ministry agrees that the hospitals are understaffed, the Finance Ministry maintains they are overstaffed and refuses to increase the number of posts for doctors.

An arbitrator appointed by the parties has determined that doctors' posts must be added, but no

negotiations with the authorities or the arbitrator have been held for the past few months, Ekstein said.

After the doctors announced their intention to strike, a meeting between them and representatives of the Health and Finance ministries was set for Wednesday, but the doctors did not cancel their strike.

"We fear that the red tape will continue even after the meeting. If we see that they are not prepared to do anything at the meeting, we shall intensify our measures," Ekstein said.

The city's doctors announced a work dispute a month ago, due to the personnel shortage.

Margery Greenfield adds: Health Ministry Director-General Prof. Baruch Modan said

that today's action is "nothing more than a wildcat strike."

The problem of employment slots has been the topic of several meetings among representatives of the Israel Medical Association, the Health Ministry and the Civil Service Commission, and more talks are scheduled for this week, he said.

Modan pointed out that according to the arbitrator's ruling after the 1976 doctors' strike, which set the optimum number of doctors for each hospital, the Tel Aviv municipal hospitals are missing only two doctors to reach the prescribed number.

"It's difficult to believe that sick and elderly people throughout the city of Tel Aviv will have to suffer because two doctors are lacking from the three city hospitals," Modan said.

## Women warned against rubella

By MARGERY GREENFELD

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Due to an anticipated rise in the number of cases of rubella (German measles) in 1984, all women of child-bearing age who have neither had rubella nor been vaccinated against it are advised by the Health Ministry to go to the nearest Family Health Clinic for an examination of inoculation.

Rubella is a common infectious disease which affects mostly pre-pubescent and elementary-school children. Its symptoms are slight fever, sore throat, drowsiness and a rash that starts on the face and spreads to other parts of the body. It usually runs its course within three to five days.

But if rubella strikes a pregnant woman, especially during the first three months of her pregnancy,

fetal abnormalities, such as congenital cataracts, can appear.

Most Israeli women of child-bearing age (defined as 15 to 44 years) have already received the one-time inoculation, following programmes initiated by the ministry 11 years ago, the ministry's chief epidemiologist, Prof. Tiberio Schwartz, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Since 1973, all schoolgirls aged 12 have routinely been vaccinated against rubella, Schwartz said. In 1980, the testing and vaccination programme was extended to include women who had just given birth and women who brought their children for treatment to the ministry's family-health clinics, he said.

While these programmes have vaccinated all Israeli women up to the age of 23 and all those who have

had babies within the past four years, the ministry wants to reach all women in Israel in view of the predicted rise in rubella throughout the world in 1984, he said.

Since rubella cases peak every five years, and the last big rubella outbreak was in 1979, the number of cases is likely to increase again next year, he explained.

Women who have not been vaccinated and are not sure whether they have had rubella are advised to go to the Family Health Clinic nearest to their homes for a simple test to determine whether they have antibodies against the disease, Schwartz said. Then, if necessary, they can be vaccinated.

Addresses of Family Health Clinics can be obtained from the Health Ministry's district health offices.

## Four operators complain of Uvda facilities

By LIOA MORIEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

JERUSALEM — Four operators complaining about conditions at a new charter terminal at the Tel Aviv air base, which serves Eilat, said at least one operator termed it a "disaster." The terminal, which opened to charter-flights on England at the beginning of the month, is 60 kilometres north of Tel Aviv and is situated inside the air base.

Criticism includes the allegation that there are no customs officials or security guards, that there is only

one small public phone booth and that the barbed wire of the military base gives a bad impression to tourists.

Furthermore, it is alleged that although the base is meant for charter-flight customers, who have transport to Eilat included, individual passengers do arrive in Uvda and then have to pay exorbitant fares to get to Eilat.

The Uvda terminal was built specially to handle the big Boeing 757 planes from Europe which cannot land at the small Eilat airport.

An IDF spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post* that the army only provided services for the civilian authority and was not "the address" for complaints. Shaul Hazan of the Airports Authority told *The Post* that the criticism is unfounded.

The Uvda terminal was constructed with all the necessary facilities, he maintained, and was operating smoothly from the first day. "Just because some passengers got away without a customs check," he remarked, "it does not mean that there are no customs officials at the airport."

## Taxi owners threaten errant drivers

By YITZHAK OKED

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — The National Association of Taxi Owners has decided to take action against its members caught overcharging passengers or committing other illegal acts. It may expel owners found taking the rules.

The secretariat of the organization has decided on a national campaign to improve taxi drivers' image. They claim that because of a few unreliable drivers caught

overcharging, with tourists the most frequent victims, the public is suspicious of all taxi drivers in the country.

The secretariat will hold meetings with drivers and taxi owners to impress upon them the importance of obeying the law and charging correct fares.

In a statement to the news media, the secretariat asserted that the overwhelming majority of taxi drivers obey all traffic laws and charge only the permitted price.

## Ex-police commander

David Franco at 53

HAIFA (Itim) — Nitzav-Mishne

David Franco, who served as a Galilee region police commander from 1973 to 1981, died yesterday at Remez Hospital here after a prolonged illness. He was 53. The funeral was yesterday.

Last Wednesday, Franco gave evidence from his sickbed in the hospital concerning the trial of a former Nahariya police commander.



New Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar and Deputy President Miriam Ben-Porat share a toast yesterday at Beit Hanassi, where they were installed in their posts. (Yitzhak Harari)

## Shamgar installed as Supreme Court head

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Justice Meir Shamgar, 58, was installed yesterday as president of the Supreme Court by President Chaim Herzog, along with new Deputy President Miriam Ben-Porat, 65.

The Beit Hanassi ceremony was attended by outgoing Supreme Court president Yitzhak Kahan (who has just retired at the mandatory age of 70) and his predecessors Moshe Landau and Shimon Agranat. Also present were other justices of the court, including Menahem Elon (who ran against Herzog for the presidency last spring), Justice Minister Moshe Nisim, State Comptroller Yitzhak Tunik and other guests.

Herzog said that a Supreme Court justice is the "highest ethical authority" in the country. He praised Kahan as a "great judge of modest ways who added honour to the top level of Israeli justice."

The president described Shamgar, who immigrated from Germany in 1939 and who served as chief Israel Defence Forces prosecutor and attorney-general before joining the Supreme Court in 1975, as a man of the highest reputation. "I have no doubt that in his new position he will set his personal mark on the judicial system."

Ben-Porat, who affirmed her allegiance to the state and the judicial system following a declaration by Shamgar, was praised by Herzog for her "rich experience and great contribution to justice and the rule of law in Israel."

Herzog warned citizens against taking the law into their own hands, thus exposing to ridicule the judicial system's responsibility for enforcing the law. The legal system must also protect citizens' rights, he added, and those of non-citizens.

Herzog noted that Israel rules a large population of Arab residents who are not citizens. "As things seem today, a long period will pass before a political solution is found." Meanwhile, Israel must control residents of the administered areas, in which hostile elements and terrorists operate.

Israel, said Herzog, is forced to seek a golden mean in which these residents are not deprived of their rights and the security of Israel is preserved.

The firm base of Israeli justice "has not been shaken or cracked," Herzog declared, despite recent "foolish and dangerous attempts to undermine its authority and gnaw away at the status of our legal system." He did not elaborate.

## Ministers to study immigrant housing

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A committee of four ministers was set up by the cabinet yesterday to study the shortage of housing for new immigrants, which has reportedly caused some potential immigrants in the West to postpone their aliya.

The housing issue was raised by Absorption Minister Aharon Uzan, who noted that absorption centres are filled with immigrants, some of whom arrived three years ago.

Last week, Uzan started the immigration establishment by saying in a radio interview that potential immigrants in France were being advised to postpone their aliya due to the shortage of housing.

Deputy Prime Minister and Construction and Housing Minister David Levy provided statistics on the number of government flats his ministry has transferred to the Absorption Ministry.

According to Levy's ministry, from 1980 through 1982, over 43,000 immigrants arrived. With an average of three persons to a family, the required housing allotment should have been some 14,000 flats, whether as rentals with the option to buy or as mortgages. The ministry says it provided 17,000 housing solutions during those three years.

From January through August of this year, 10,000 immigrants arrived, requiring over 3,000 solutions, but 4,700 apartments or mortgages were

provided, according to the ministry. In addition, the amount immigrant couples and families may receive has been increased in recent weeks, as have rental subsidies for immigrants renting on the private market.

Some Housing Ministry officials have claimed recently that the Absorption Ministry has been allocating larger flats to some immigrants than required by their family size.

The Absorption Ministry says this is true only regarding certain "preferred areas," such as the Pisgat Ze'ev quarter planned in Jerusalem, and that the Housing Ministry itself agreed to this.

Absorption Ministry Director-General Eli Artzi said yesterday that the apartments allocated to his ministry in the last year and a half are insufficient, since some 40,000 immigrants who had arrived in recent years but lacked permanent housing had to be dealt with during Uzan's service in the ministry.

Artzi claimed to have a "secret document" in his possession, prepared in the Housing Ministry, which shows that the Housing Ministry is holding 3,700 empty government flats meant for immigrants instead of transferring them to the Absorption Ministry.

The ministerial committee comprises the ministers of finance, housing, absorption and economic coordination. They will study the problem and bring proposals to a future cabinet session.

## 51 suspected drug pushers arrested in Haifa raids

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA — Fifty-one suspected drug pushers were arrested in pre-dawn raids on homes in Haifa and surrounding suburbs yesterday by a force of 300 police and Border Police.

A police spokesman said 26 "drug stations," which dealt with hashish, heroin, LSD and Adulin were smashed as a result of the operation.

The police estimated that the suspected drug dealers' annual turnover totalled nearly IS200 million.

In several raids in the Mount Carmel area detectives reportedly found evidence that drugs had been sold to students and schoolchildren.

Police said the raid, one of the biggest ever mounted by Haifa police, was the result of 12 months of undercover work by drug-squad detectives.

Among those arrested were several underworld figures also suspected of burglary and of selling stolen property, the police spokeswoman said.

Haifa district police chief Tattizav Meshulam Amit said the operation had dealt a massive blow to the Haifa drug market. The police are also preparing for further action in the event that other criminals step in to try to reorganize the market, he said.

## Youth Aliya to open jubilee conference

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A conference marking the 50th anniversary of Youth Aliya opens tonight in Jerusalem, with 154 delegates from abroad and 35 from Israel.

Founded to send European Jewish youth to Eretz Yisrael on the eve of the Hitler era, Youth Aliya now concentrates on educating disadvantaged Israeli-born youth in residential schools around the country, along with immigrant youngsters and western Jewish teenagers spending a year here.

A reception for delegates was held last night at the Laramme Hotel in Jerusalem. Guest of honour was octogenarian Recha

Freier, who, as the wife of a German rabbi, originated the idea of Youth Aliya.

The opening session at the hotel at 8 p.m. will include greetings by President Chaim Herzog, Jewish Agency Executive chairman Arye Dulzin and Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer, as well as a speech by Youth Aliya chairman Uri Gordon.

BROADCASTING. — Yardena Harel, assistant to Broadcasting Authority chairman Reuven Yaron, has been appointed acting spokesman of the authority, replacing Ariella Ravdel, who has been appointed Finance Ministry spokesman.

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## Police urged to release priest

NAZARETH. — Greek Catholic officials have called on police to release a priest arrested four weeks ago.

In a statement issued in Haifa yesterday, the officials charged that the investigators are forbidding the priest's family to visit him and are not even allowing him to receive prayer books.

The priest, Fauzi Khoury, from the village of Fasouta on the Lebanese border was arrested earlier this month at Ben-Gurion Airport, minutes before he was due to board a plane to Paris.

Local sources said Khoury was studying at a French university. He dedicated his free time abroad to collecting contributions for a religious fund, they said.

Al-Itrah, a Rakah newspaper, said yesterday that French religious organizations had protested against the arrest.

## 600 Technion students to strike tomorrow

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The 600 students of the Technion's architecture faculty are to hold a day-long strike tomorrow to protest against the administration's decision to move the faculty from the original Technion building in Hader to the Mt. Carmel campus.

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## WORLD NEWS

### Cruise components arrive in Sicily

ROME (AP). — The first components of 112 NATO cruise nuclear missiles have begun arriving at a U.S. Navy base in Sicily, the Italian Defence Department announced yesterday.

The brief communiqué did not say how many missiles were involved nor when they arrived.

An abandoned Italian military airport at Comiso, 75 kilometres south-west of Catania, is being converted into a base where all 112 of the U.S.-built medium-range cruise missiles will be stationed.

The communiqué said the missiles would not be operational until March. They were originally scheduled to be deployed by the end of the year, but construction has fallen behind schedule.

In a strongly worded statement, Rumania has called on the Soviet Union to waive deployment of nuclear missiles in East Germany

and Czechoslovakia; and also urged NATO to scrap plans to station new American missiles in Western Europe.

The declaration also demanded that the U.S. and the Soviet Union resume their talks on limiting medium-range missiles.

"All the measures of the last few days push Europe and the whole world to the verge of disaster of nuclear abyss," said the statement, carried late Friday by the official news agency, adding, "The human race has never been in such a grave situation."

It also called for the preparation "in the shortest time possible, in the first part of next year," of a summit meeting between U.S. President Reagan and Soviet President Andropov.

In India, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said in an interview published yesterday that the

Soviets were "quite wrong" to walk out of the medium-range nuclear talks in Geneva but the West must continue talking with Warsaw Pact countries.

"I am very concerned that the Soviets have walked out of the arms talks in Geneva, although I thought they might do so when we made it perfectly clear that we are going to deploy the cruises and the Pershings," Thatcher told the *Times of India*.

The prime minister, who spoke during the Commonwealth summit, said the Soviets had been deploying one SS-20 missile a week during the course of the arms talks.

"I do not expect them to change in any way. They have a very rigid society and I think they will continue to remain so. But we must talk more because otherwise we might misunderstand one another."

### Commonwealth decries nuclear arms

PANAJI, Goa (Reuters). — Commonwealth leaders, declaring the future of civilization threatened, yesterday issued an impassioned plea for world peace and declared themselves particularly concerned over the safety of small nations.

The heads of government of the 48-member organization made up of former British colonies issued what they designated as "The Goa Declaration on International Security" after a two-day break in this western Indian resort from their week-long summit in New Delhi.

The declaration said it was imperative that the U.S. and USSR summoned up "the political vision of a world in which their nations can live in peace."

The leaders said that relationships between the world's major military alliances were in danger of becoming "more confrontational" and that with heightened tensions and a build-up in nuclear arms "the future of civilization as we know it could be threatened."

The diverse nations of the Commonwealth carefully avoided specific accusations against either of the superpowers, but said: "We are alarmed by increasing disregard for the moral and legal principles which should govern the conduct of states (and) by the degree to which the ethic of peaceful settlement of disputes is being eroded and by the readiness of nations to resort to the illegal use of force."

### Jamaican election day set for December 15

KINGSTON, Jamaica (AP). — Prime Minister Edward Seaga announced on Saturday that national elections will be held on December 15, two years ahead of schedule, and said parliament would be dissolved today.

The surprise move gave political opponents less than two weeks to line up candidates for the 60 seats in parliament at stake in the elections.

The elections will be the first among the former British colonies in the Caribbean since the U.S.-led invasion of Grenada, which is expected to figure prominently in the campaign. Seaga strongly supported the invasion.

### Ireland's 'Mad Dog' admits to 30 killings

DUBLIN. — The most wanted man in Ireland, Republican guerrilla leader Dominic "Mad Dog" McGlinchey, has admitted in an interview personally killing about 30 people in the past decade.

In an interview with *The Sunday Tribune*, McGlinchey, head of the hard-line Marxist Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), denied any involvement in last Sunday's attack on a Protestant church in Northern Ireland in which three people died and for which he was widely blamed.

The interview was conducted by *Tribune* editor Vincent Browne, somewhere in Ireland late one night

last week. The Irish journalist has long had access to IRA guerrillas.

McGlinchey, 29, has been blamed for a string of bombings and shootings since he was reported to have taken over the leadership of the breakaway INLA, fighting to end British rule in Northern Ireland, last year.

He admitted having a hand in a bar bomb last December in Ballykelly, Northern Ireland, which killed 17 people, mainly off-duty British soldiers. Altogether he had been involved in over 200 bombings and shootings, he claimed.

Browne said that McGlinchey was inconsistent in denying INLA

involvement in Sunday's attack on the Mountain Lodge Pentecostal Church in South Armagh near the border with the republic.

At first, McGlinchey insisted no one from his organization was involved, Browne reported. But later he admitted one of his men was among the three gunmen who raked the gospel hall with bullets while men, women and children sang hymns.

He also said that he had supplied at least one of the automatic weapons used in the attack that outraged feuding Protestants and Roman Catholics alike in Northern Ireland. (AP, Reuters)

### Swiss court orders 'Lenin's' cafe preserved

ZURICH (Reuters). — The owners of Zurich's Cafe Odeon, frequented by Lenin before World War I, have been ordered by the Swiss Supreme Court to preserve its original interior.

Opened in 1911, the Odeon was a meeting place for the Dada painting movement, which began in Zurich, and was popular with writers such as James Joyce, Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig and Frank Wedekind.

The spy known as Mata Hari performed as a dancer there in 1915.

In 1972 the owners converted part of it for use as boutiques, in a move which led to demonstrations and a conservation petition signed by 7,000 people.

### 'Wives should be paid for home duties'

VATICAN CITY (Reuters). — The Vatican said on Friday that wives should be paid a wage for working in the home.

It said in a *Charter of the Rights of*

the Family that mothers should not be obliged to go out to work to the detriment of family life and especially of the education of the children.

### 200,000 march in anti-Marcos protest

MANILA (AP). — More than 200,000 Filipinos marched, jogged and danced, riot police yesterday on what would have been the assassination of Benigno Aquino's 51st birthday.

At nightfall, lines of helmeted police protecting President Ferdi-

### Mass fascist rally for anniversary of Franco's death

MADRID (Reuters). — Tens of thousands of Spaniards marched through Madrid yesterday to mark the eighth anniversary of the death of dictator Francisco Franco in the biggest right-wing rally since the Socialists took power a year ago.

After a silent march along Madrid's main Castellana Boulevard, the demonstrators gathered in front of a statue of Franco to sing fascist hymns while giving the stiff-arm salute used by the late general during his 40-year rule.

Elderly matrons with red and yellow Spanish flags pinned on their fur coats and decorated veterans of the victorious Franco forces in the 1936-39 civil war marched alongside teenage girls wearing fashionable sportswear in the national colours and youths in fascist Falange Party blue shirts and combat boots.

Some chanted slogans calling for an army takeover and the release of military plotters jailed for an abortive 1981 coup attempt, but there were no incidents. Security was discreet, with no riot police in sight of the marchers and few patrol cars, but two police helicopters circled above.

### Commonwealth offers Grenada troops

PANAJI, Goa (AP). — Commonwealth leaders, ending daylong arguments over Grenada, agreed late Saturday to a communiqué proposing the replacement of U.S. troops on the tiny island-nation by an all-Caribbean peacekeeping force, sources reported.

But the final document remained unclear after a two-hour session at which, sources said, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi balked at a proposed draft which avoided criticizing Washington for the October 25 invasion.

The draft contained references to the principles of national integrity and non-intervention in other states to placate angry African leaders who had denounced the invasion.

Sources said the draft contained no demand for an immediate withdrawal of the some 2,000 U.S. troops still on the island.

But it said that an all-Caribbean policing force would be sent if Grenada's interim administration wanted it.

### Sandinistas pledge aid to opposition newspaper

MANAGUA (AP). — Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government said on Saturday that it will provide opposition newspaper *La Prensa* with enough money to buy the newspaper it needs to continue publishing.

This followed the newspaper's statement on Friday that it would suspend publication on December 7 because the government would not provide it with enough dollars to purchase newsprint.

### French Foreign Legion is still a tough fighting force

By BERNARD EDINGER

DIJIBOUTI (Reuters). — The French tricolour flapped in the hot desert breeze as a bugle call sounded in the emptiness of the arid Djibouti landscape.

A German sergeant barked a guttural order across the parade ground and the guard detail snapped to attention for the daily ceremonial of presentation to the regiment's colonel.

It could all have been a scene from a remake of *Beau Geste*, but this was no film. It was one of the world's toughest and most disciplined fighting forces acting out a ritual that has not changed since 1831 when the French Foreign Legion was formed.

The legion is still a formidable fighting body which men join to shed their past, to forget and to be forgotten.

"Why has the legion remained unchanged? Because our strength is in our traditions which we protect and maintain," Col. Jean-Bernard Vialle told Reuters.



A French Foreign Legion regiment on parade at Bastia, Corsica last August. (UPI telephoto)

spearheads of France's overseas intervention force.

Legion paratroopers jumped over Kolwezi during Zaire's Shaba insurrection in 1978 and within two days cleared the city of rebels who had massacred European civilians.

Yet another legion regiment is garrisoned in the Amazonian jungles of French Guiana while more legionnaires guard France's nuclear testing ground in the South Pacific.

Legionnaires are fighting men and they seethe with frustration when their Second Infantry Regiment, serving with the Multinational Peace Force in Beirut, lost some 15 men to artillery and sniper fire and they were not allowed to shoot back.

Unbending discipline has always characterized the legion. Vialle says corporal punishment is now banned, but adds that "The legion is certainly still a very tough place to serve."

One European civilian living in Djibouti, where legionnaires are among the best clients for the port city's bars and prostitutes, says it is best to keep clear of them when they let off steam.

"They are very tough and many are also very mean. What usually keeps them in line in town is their own military police which has its own very effective ways of dealing with troublemakers," he said.

Djibouti's mountainous desert wasteland, where temperatures routinely reach 45 degrees centigrade, provides perfect terrain for the legion's gruelling training.

## Sports

### That's Spiegler, that was

By PAUL KOHN  
Post Sports Reporter

NETANYA. — Mordechai Spiegler, one-time captain of Israel national football team, resigned from his position manager of the Netanya Maccabi team, and his resignation has been accepted by the club management. Spiegler told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the decision was final.

He said, "I, more than anyone else, must accept responsibility for Netanya being at the bottom of the National League, just as I am responsible for the team winning the Championships last season. That's football."

He denied that he was resigning because of a negative attitude on the part of the Netanya fans. "On the contrary," he said, "Netanya supporters are almost of them very fine people. It is a two carloads of hooligans who give trouble, and I wouldn't have resigned because of them."

He concluded, "I did not pan but there are not buttons on a press in football to force one to win. Netanya now need a new part to save the side from relegation."

The management committee met today to decide on a successor to Spiegler.

Club chairman Yitzhak Landau told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the front runner is Arye Redi who took the team to victory in league in 1973.

Land said that the club would have liked to get back Shmuel Perlman, who also coached Netanya in the past, but he is under contract to the Israeli Football Association to coach the national junior team. Another possible candidate is Asher Meising, who coaches Netanya's junior squad.

### Wonder veterans

BRISBANE (Reuters). — Gr Chappell moved within sight of Donald Bradman's test record 6,996 runs as Australia maintain their stranglehold on the second cricket Test against Pakistan yesterday.

Chappell hit 150 not out, his 21st century, and Allan Border as the Australians carried their fifth innings total to 509 for set declared — a first innings lead 353. He hit 17 boundaries.

When bat light ended the day's play 20 minutes earlier Pakistan opener Mohsin Khan's Mudassar Nazar had reduced it to 42 and were still not out.

In Bombay, an aggressive 103 by Viv Richards, his 11 Test match hundred, frustrated India's efforts to gain the upper hand in the fourth cricket Test against West Indies today. At the close the third day's touring team was 204 for three in reply to India's fifth innings total of 463.

### Triumphant return

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). American Johan Kriek won South African Open Tennis Championship after a gruelling two-and-a-half hour battle against Britain's Colin Dowdeswell.

Sixth-seeded Kriek, who was born in South Africa, came from 3-1 down in the fifth set to 6-4, 4-6, 1-6, 7-5, 6-3.

In Sydney, Britain's Jo Durie beat Amer Kathy Jordan, 6-3, 7-5, Sunday to win \$150,000 NSW Building Society Women's Tennis Tournament.

In Toulouse, Heinz Gundhardt of Switzerland beat Peruvian Pablo Arraya 6-0, 6-2 to win the Toulouse Grand Prix Tennis Tournament.

### Wheelchair tennis

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — The American wheelchair tennis team arrived last evening for this week's international tournament against Israel at Ramat Hasharon's Israel Tel Centre. The meet starts at 2 p.m. today and continues through Wednesday.

### NBA: SATURDAY

Portland 122, Seattle 94; Denver 104, Phoenix 104 (Kiki Vandeweghe 35, including game-clinching free throw with 16 sec left); New York Knicks 96, Cleveland Cavaliers 115; Houston 109; Dallas 115, Golden State 109; Milwaukee 109, Washington Kansas City 117, Utah 116.

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# As Threatened



West German police watching American soldiers place barbed wire in front of airfield in Mutlangen, West German, where Pershing 2 missiles are expected to be deployed; Yuri A. Kvitinsky, the chief Soviet negotiator on medium-range nuclear missiles; Swiss police removing demonstrators who protested in front of the U.S. mission in Geneva where the talks broke off last week.



## Talks Are Off, Deployment Is The Watchword

The Soviet Union delivered punches last week telegraphed long in advance and therefore not surprising, even though dismaying, to Western leaders. The West German Bundestag, ignoring street demonstrations and warnings from Moscow, voted to proceed with the stationing of American-made, medium-range missiles. When this was almost immediately followed by the arrival of the first nine of 108 Pershing-2's, Moscow broke off the negotiations in Geneva indefinitely, then announced its own deployment.

The world seemed to take another step back toward the cold war with a belligerent Soviet statement — ostensibly from Yuri V. Andropov, who has not been seen in public since August — accusing the United States of "torpedoing" the possibility of agreement in Geneva. It announced a further buildup of nuclear weapons in Czechoslovakia and East Germany as well as aboard submarines off the American coast. Whether intentional or not, the effect was to link the fate of the United States with that of Western Europe, an association that the Reagan Administration itself had sought to underline with its plan to bolster NATO's European defenses with 572 American-controlled Pershings and cruise missiles.

Western leaders reacted calmly. The President said he "regretted" Moscow's attitude but professed confidence the Geneva boycott would end. "I can't believe it will be permanent," he said.

In Washington and in Europe, officials were mindful of the effects on a worried public of an arms buildup while talks are at least interrupted. Mr. Reagan said "we continue to seek negotiations in good faith." Meeting in Bonn, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President François Mitterrand called upon the Soviet Union "to return to the negotiating table as soon as possible." They declared that the retaliatory measures announced by Mr. Andropov were "not in the interest of the peoples of Europe, neither in the East nor the West."

Some officials in Washington thought a new tack might be necessary, perhaps combining the stalled talks on medium-range missiles with those on strategic weapons.

There was a striking contrast between the Soviet statement and one delivered a day later by Eric Honecker, the East German leader. Mr. Honecker said he did not exclude that "sooner or later there will be positive results in the negotiations over disarmament" and added that the new Warsaw Pact deployment "produces no rejoicing." The often-independent Rumanian Communist Party went further; it deplored the decisions by both Moscow and Washington to speed the deployment.

## Fearful Managua Offers a Deal

The United States invasion of Grenada and the fear of being next appeared to contribute to unusual conciliatory moves last week by Nicaragua's leftist leaders. Cuba, one of the principal targets of the Grenada operation, also seemed to be taking a cautious approach to its role in the Central American state.

The Sandinista regime is worried about the presence of 5,500 American troops next door in Honduras and

close by on assault ships, and has continually warned its people of impending attack. When Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger was asked last week about the possibility of invasion, he left it open by dismissing the question as "hypothetical." In addition to the perceived threat from the north, the Sandinistas have come under pressure from Latin American and Western European countries to loosen up and make a regional settlement easier.

The offers to domestic critics included establishment of an election schedule for 1985, guarantees to businessmen of respect for their property, an offer to the Roman Catholic hierarchy to discuss removal of radical priests from the Government, and an easing of press censorship.

Cuba, which has maintained an estimated 8,000 teachers, doctors and military personnel in Nicaragua, appeared to be trying to make its presence less visible by recalling as many as 1,000 people in the past three weeks. No military advisers were believed to be involved but Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Nicaraguan junta, told interviewers that it was ready to send home all foreign military advisers and stop buying arms from abroad if other Central American states would do the same.

"We have decided to discuss all the problems that worry the United States," Mr. Ortega said. Washington, which has constantly criticized the Sandinistas for fostering a totalitarian regime friendly to Cuba and the Soviet Union and helpful to the leftist insurgency in El Salvador, cautiously weighed whether Managua was making only "token" gestures or was serious about compromise. The Administration has thus far confined its actions against Managua to support of anti-Sandinista rebels, and these so-called "contras," have been able to do little to shake the regime.

## Mideast Captives Get to Go Home

Yasir Arafat's branch of the Palestine Liberation Organization found a way to reach an agreement with Israel last week — on a prisoner exchange — but whether the Palestinians could agree among themselves

was in doubt. Both Mr. Arafat and the Syrian-backed rebels' chief of staff, Col. Abu Khaled al-Omleh, questioned the reported terms of a cease-fire and withdrawal agreement. The rebels had said that unless there was agreement and Mr. Arafat left Tripoli, they would resume attacking his forces in the heart of the Lebanese city, where he is besieged. Yesterday, however, there were only minor exchanges of fire in Tripoli.

Under an agreement negotiated in Geneva by the International Committee of the Red Cross, 4,500 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners were released in return for six Israelis in Tripoli. Israel freed the Arabs held at the Ansar' detention camp since last year's Lebanese invasion, and closed the camp. Also released were 100 Palestinians in Israeli prisons who had been convicted of terrorist crimes. That left five or six Israelis still in Syrian prisons and 300 Syrian as well as more than 1,000 Palestinians jailed in Israel.

Many of the released Arabs vowed to return to the war against Israel, but Defense Minister Moshe Arens said any delay in releasing the Israelis in Tripoli "could have been disastrous." He added, "We will have problems and we don't rule out the possibility that they will be harder."

Adding to his difficulties were signs that Soviet assistance may be cutting into Israel's edge over Syria. Israel bombers hit Syrian-controlled areas of central Lebanon last Sunday. But Soviet-supplied anti-aircraft weapons, possibly directed by Soviet advisers, set up a barrage that seemed to keep the Israelis off balance and shot down an Israeli Kfir jet. Later, the Syrians shot down a pilotless Israeli drone over eastern Lebanon. The bombing raid was the third reprisal since a truck-bomb attack on an Israeli military compound in Tyre on Nov. 4.

Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger said the similar attack that killed 239 Americans at Beirut airport on Oct. 23 was conducted with "the sponsorship and knowledge and authority of the Syrian Government." Damascus newspapers denied the charge. Mr. Weinberger also said President Reagan had not specifically threatened American retaliation for the bombing, leaving open the possibility the Israeli raids were the punishment promised by Mr. Reagan.

## From the Kremlin, the View Is Bleak on Many Fronts

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

TWO of the most important messages in Yuri V. Andropov's statement last week on the missile standoff with the United States emerged between the lines. One was that whatever measures or threats the Soviet leader made, the Kremlin had suffered a serious political setback. The second message was contained in the fact that the statement was read by someone else, prolonging uncertainty about the standing of a man who has not been seen in public for three months.

Moscow had expended great energy over two years in wooing, cajoling, threatening and bluffing the Europeans not to accept new American medium-range missiles. The Russians staked their campaign on a vision of Europe grown disillusioned with the United States and panicked by the notion of more megatons of destruction, and on an image of Russia too mindful of its tragic past ever to contemplate a threat to anybody else.

In the end the effort failed. The unfortunate timing of the Soviet attack on the Korean jetliner and the mishandling of its aftermath broke whatever momentum Moscow may have developed. Even before the West German Bundestag voted last week to accept new Pershing 2 missiles, the Russians had realized that despite allied objections to the American operation against Grenada and the rush of last-minute threats and offers, nothing had undermined NATO's determination to counter the Soviet SS-20 missiles.

Moreover, at a critical juncture in Moscow's fortunes, the paramount leader's situation remained concealed in a haze of rumors and questions about his health, his ability to carry on and even his political standing. Mr. Andropov has been out of sight now longer than any of his recent predecessors. In a country conditioned and constructed to have power emanate from a single center his absence was keenly felt.

For the Russians the aftermath of the breakdown of negotiations was also difficult. There was, among other problems, the task of explaining things to the public. In the prolonged debate over the missiles, the Kremlin made public more details of the opposing arsenals than their passion for secrecy had ever allowed before. Russians were repeatedly told that the Pershing 2's would pose a qualitatively new threat to their land. Now that the missiles were about to go in, the leadership began to reassure the public that holocaust was not imminent.

A full-page article by Defense Minister Dmitry F. Ustinov last week, for example, explained that the military had all it needed to meet any new threat. Mr. Andropov also seemed to try to be reassuring by saying the added threat was to Europe, not to the Soviet Union.

Moscow also faced a problem of future relations with Western Europe. The long and bitter campaign over the missiles did leave Europeans far less united than in the past on issues of defense and nuclear arms, and the Russians were certain to make the most of the divisions in the future. But in the aftermath of the Bundestag vote and the Soviet walkout in Geneva, it was clear that Moscow had lost a major round in the East-West struggle.

Furthermore, the Russians had repeatedly warned the West Germans of a setback in relations. But the fact remains that the Soviet Union needs to trade with the West Germans while its East German satellite seeks huge credits from Bonn.

All in all, the men in the Kremlin seemed to find foreign policy as frustrating an exercise as the Reagan Administration had. In the year since Mr. Andropov came to power, he has concentrated on domestic problems, and from all indications has been content to stick with foreign policies fashioned by his predecessor. It may be that the price of the support he received from Marshal Ustinov

and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in the transition was to leave military and foreign affairs in their hands. It is also possible that his infirmity has not left him time to put his own stamp on foreign policy. In any event, Mr. Andropov has not been credited with any major initiative in international affairs.

In the Middle East, Mr. Andropov inherited an alignment of forces that left Moscow largely dependent on Syria for any influence over the course of events. But the rebellion in the Palestine Liberation Organization demonstrated the limits of the Soviet-Syrian relationship. Defying repeated Soviet appeals to halt the fight and preserve Palestinian unity, Syria backed the effort to defeat chairman Yasir Arafat. Moscow, for all its past protestations of support for Mr. Arafat, appeared prepared to let him fall rather than risk its costly stake in Damascus.

In Iran, Moscow learned that one superpower's loss is not necessarily the other's gain. The Islamic fundamentalists matched their humiliation of the American "satans" by decapitating the Communist Party and ousting Soviet diplomats.

It was a lesson Moscow learned anew after the American intervention in Grenada. A few weeks after condemning the United States for that operation, the United Nations handed the Russians their worst defeat over Afghanistan so far, a 116-30 vote for "immediate withdrawal of foreign troops." The Afghan fighters, meanwhile, seemed capable of carrying on against Soviet troops indefinitely while Grenada posed serious questions about Moscow's ability to sustain clients in the Western Hemisphere.

## Resistance in the West

Elsewhere, the view from the Kremlin seemed hardly more consoling. The third world clients whose embrace seemed so promising at first — Angola, Vietnam, Cambodia, Nicaragua — were draining a lot of resources without matching returns. Reconciliation talks with China crept on slowly, with neither side showing much readiness for major concessions.

In relations with the West, Mr. Andropov's repeated calls for détente and cooperation seemed to hit a new wave of conservatism. Beyond the missile dispute, conservative Governments in Britain and West Germany vied with a Socialist Government in France in rebuffing Moscow's overtures. In Japan, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, buttressed by the loud outcry over the Korean airliner, turned a deaf ear to Moscow's objections and continued building his military forces.

Overshadowing all these problems was the recognition that America was bent on reinforcing its military machine and global reach. Soviet leaders had to face the dismaying possibility of another four years of Ronald Reagan, who stung Moscow to the quick when he called it an "empire of evil." Confounding all their expectations that he would follow his predecessors in pragmatically dealing with Moscow, the President pushed through funds for the B-1 bomber, the MX missile and other new weapons systems, sent marines to Lebanon and Grenada and sustained a freeze on Soviet-American relations. Moscow's only real satisfaction as far as the United States was concerned was the grain deal they concluded in August.

Internal affairs did not offer much compensation for foreign frustrations. Soviet leaders could draw little consolation from the marginal improvement in economic indicators over the past year. And now, in Mr. Andropov's absence, the Supreme Soviet session that is to pass next year's budget has yet to be convened. In external as well as internal affairs, a broad policy reassessment seems inevitable. The question is not only what direction this may take, but who will be there to carry it out.

Bread-and-butter issues once again troubling Poland

2

It's every Arab leader for himself

3



# The World



Imelda Marcos resigning from Government's Executive Committee last week.

## Marcos Yields A Bit, Foes Demand More

Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos made a major concession to his political opponents last week, but rather than easing the pressures on the faltering leader, it seemed only to intensify them. As the week ended, 110 Roman Catholic bishops released a pastoral letter — to be read in church today on what would have been the 51st birthday of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the assassinated opposition leader — urging Mr. Marcos to end his "repressive decrees" and call new elections.

Foreign and Philippine business leaders, along with opposition politicians, had been demanding that the office of vice president be restored. They hoped this would increase chances for a smooth succession in case Mr. Marcos, rumored to be in poor health, should be unable to serve. (Under the existing system, a 15-member executive committee that included his wife, Imelda, and military leaders, would succeed him.) Uncertainty surrounding the succession, coupled with political unrest following the murder of Mr. Aquino in August, have caused doubts about stability and, with them, a serious economic decline.

Despite Mr. Marcos's opposition, a party caucus from his own New Society Movement decided last week that vice presidential candidates should run in the next presidential election in 1987. Mrs. Marcos simultaneously resigned from the executive committee and renounced any presidential ambitions.

Few opponents appeared satisfied, however. They insisted that four years was too long to wait for elections. At daily demonstrations, thousands called for Mr. Marcos to step down. The bishops' strong message, in a nation that is 85 percent Catholic, fueled dissent. The prelates called on the President to repeal decrees which they said violated human rights (including one allowing him to jail indefinitely anyone arrested for security offenses); they told the armed forces that their loyalty belongs to the people, not to any single person, and they urged the restoration of a free press.

## Financial Relief For Brazil

Brazil, the world's biggest debtor, won some relief from the International Monetary Fund last week but only on the basis of an austerity program that may aggravate political and social tensions.

The fund, which helps countries meet their short-term financial needs, voted to allow Brazil to draw \$1.2 billion immediately and to make another \$3 billion available on condition Brazil continues to toe the I.M.F. line. The decision gives some 800 private banks and government lenders the green light to extend credits of more than \$11 billion. This will help Brazil pay for imports and to meet arrears of more than \$5 billion out of a total foreign debt of some \$90 billion.

The country got an I.M.F. loan of \$5.9 billion in February but its budget deficit and money supply expanded so fast that three months later the line of credit was cut off. Early this month, after much resistance, Parliament voted to limit the indexing of wages to the inflation rate, now running at between 150 and 200 percent. The legislation, which will also increase taxes to keep down the budget deficit, was accepted by the I.M.F. as a step toward lower inflation, but it was highly unpopular with wage earners.

Commercial banks had been waiting for the fund's approval before disbursing a new \$6.5 billion package of their own plus \$2 billion frozen from earlier loans. Governments are expected to extend \$2.5 billion in trade credits, including \$1.5 billion from the United States Export-Import Bank. More relief may come through a rescheduling of some \$2 billion in other Brazilian debts.

## Terror Finds A New Target

In Northern Ireland, where nearly everything is defined by religion, last Sunday's attack by nationalist gunmen on a Protestant church congregation was a new kind of horror. Seventy members of the Mountain Lodge Pentecostal Church in Darkley, a town near the border with the Irish Republic, were singing hymns when two masked men burst in firing automatic weapons. They killed three elders at the door and wounded seven people inside.

A group called the Catholic Reaction Force said it was responsible; the police described it as a cover for the Irish National Liberation Army, a Marxist offshoot of the outlawed Irish Republican Army.

"No attacks before have involved the cold-blooded murder of people at worship," said James Prior, Britain's Cabinet minister for the province. He dispatched 240 soldiers to help the police search the countryside and implore angry Protestants to shun violent vengeance. Even Sinn Féin, the political arm of the I.R.A., called the killings crazy. No one in the church had links with security or paramilitary forces.

Demanding harsher security measures, the Official Unionists, the largest Protestant party, withdrew from the Northern Ireland Assembly, leaving it paralyzed for lack of a quorum. Nationalists have always boycotted the assembly. The Roman Catholic Primate, Tomás Cardinal O'Fiaich, and the heads of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in the province visited the homes of the dead Pentecostals to show sympathy and solidarity against the killers.

## Salyut Crew Safely Back

It's been a bumpy year for the Soviet space program, but last week, astronauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Aleksandr Aleksandrov stepped safely from their descent module in Kazakhstan after 150 days in Salyut 7, an orbiting laboratory.

The previous Salyut tenants made a harrowing landing in December in the middle of a Central Asian blizzard. Then in April, in a rare admission of failure, Moscow reported that three other astronauts had been unable to complete docking and maneuvering exercises with Salyut 7 and another large spacecraft, the Cosmos 1443. Messrs. Lyakhov and Aleksandrov went up on a Soyuz T-9 module on June 28. The Cosmos was jettisoned in August.

An unannounced but privately confirmed explosion on the launching pad on Sept. 27 forced two other astronauts to make an emergency landing. But further reports in Washington that a propellant leak had nearly forced Mr. Lyakhov and Mr. Aleksandrov to abandon ship were denied by the Russians.

On their return last week, the two astronauts were credited with performing a long list of scientific tasks, some during two spacewalks that totaled five hours and 45 minutes.

Milt Freudenheim,  
Henry Ginder  
and Carlie C. Douglas

## Rising Food Prices Could Have Political Repercussions

# Shortages Are a Staple in Poland

By JOHN KIFNER

WARSAW — "We eat some meat about three times a week," said the middle-aged man with the droopy blond mustache and tired eyes. "I find it hard to talk about the kind of meat we are eating, just about how lucky we are to get it."

He is a mechanic at the big Huta Warszawa steel plant in the Warsaw suburb of Zoliborz. He earns 13,000 zlotys a month, an average worker's salary — around \$135 at the official rate, or \$18 to \$20 on the street. He and his wife have two small children; she is a seamstress bringing home 8,000 zlotys, making them better off than many.

Almost all of their money and much of his time goes into the search for food. After he has paid the rent, electricity and other utilities, he estimates, food takes about 90 percent of what is left. As a practical matter, he says, the money lasts about half the month. Like almost every Pole, he has a few shadowy scams to make ends meet.

Food costs are one of the most sensitive political issues. In 1956, a dispute over rising costs and broken promises led to "bread and freedom" riots in Poznan, the first people's outburst in the Soviet bloc; more than 50 people were shot dead by troops. The party leadership fell, and Wladyslaw Gomulka took over. But when he raised prices 17.6 percent just before Christmas in 1970, rioting broke out in Gdansk and along the Baltic coast. Scores more were gunned down. Edward Giersek took over, riding out a considerable price rise in 1976, including a 69 percent hike in meat costs that brought rioting and more deaths in Radom and other industrial areas. Prices were again a factor in 1980 in the wildcat strikes that gave birth to the independent union Solidarity, ending the reign of Mr. Giersek and his successor Stanislaw Kania. Only martial law was able to bottle up the wave of discontent — and fresh ideas — that challenged Communist orthodoxy.

With evident unease, Poland's rulers are again planning price increases at the beginning of 1984. They were rattled earlier this month by widespread indignation when butter was unexpectedly put back on rationing after much publicity about record milk production. In hopes of diffusing tension, they have vowed to "consult" the populace, publishing elaborate charts showing alternative plans. Bread prices seem sure to go up sharply, by about 50 percent.



A few days ago, Lech Walesa, Solidarity's founder, slipped away from his many watchers to meet with fugitive underground leaders and issue a call for "struggle" against the increases. "These apparently small price increases in basic food articles will be a deadly blow for the budgets of the poorest households, since even now they have to earmark most of their income for food," Solidarity's clandestine weekly in the capital said. It said the Government was showing symptoms of fear: "The taste of society's feelings was given by the reaction to butter rationing. The authorities are afraid of an explosion."

## New Military Powers

Indeed, at a parliamentary session last week ostensibly called to consider economic matters, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski took on sweeping new power under a form of instant martial law. Honoring, after a fashion, a promise four months ago to resign as Defense Minister, he had himself declared Supreme Commander of the army and chairman of the new National Defense Committee, which can proclaim a state of war or emergency and take over. Legislative committees were immediately handed a draft bill defining an emergency. "It looks like he's getting ready for a revolution," said a formerly prominent, no longer published, journalist.

Chronic shortages are as old as people's Poland, caused largely by the system's inefficiency, poor planning and antiquated methods and by the difficulties of trying to balance low wages against food subsidies. This time, the Government says, increases are necessary to cover 120 billion zlotys in higher payments to farmers and other increased food production costs. The Agri-

culture Minister added that the gap would still not be bridged.

Prices aside, it is not an easy matter to shop. The steel mill worker said that he or his wife must lose half a day waiting in line to buy meat. Deliveries usually come at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. If the morning supply runs out, they must wait for afternoon. "It's usually old sausage," he said, "so old it looks green. Or so-called serwolotka (made from ground meat scraps) that even the dog doesn't want to eat. There is sometimes suet with some meat in it, chicken very seldom, and we're not even talking about pork. With our fat coupons, we buy margarine or lard, which we cook with onions; later we use that for our sandwiches for school and work."

A line of 50 people stretched outside a Polish meat store in southern Warsaw at noon the other day. Two and a half hours later, a tiny, elderly woman reached the counter and bought three-quarters of a pound of pork and a pound of salami-like sausage; that would have to last for more than a week. "Every increase hits the poorest of course," she said. "I do not want to think about price increases. I can hardly exist now."

Matters will not improve. Piglets are down 20 percent and cattle supplies are also falling, partly because of previous slaughtering when fodder became short. Meat consumption, a basic index of well-being, reached a record per capita level of 162.8 pounds a year in 1980. Since then, it has fallen and next year, the daily Zycie Warszawy estimates, it will drop to the 1956 level of 108 pounds.

"If the situation doesn't change," said the steelworker, "I see no hope for the future. Not for us, not for our children."



The New York Times/Witold Sulecki; Sygma/Arthur Grace (Jaruzelski)  
Resident of Warsaw using ration coupons to buy butter this month; Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

## Pressure From Iran and Internal Wariness Foster Cultural Conservatism

# Economy Gives Saudis Growing Pains

By JUDITH MILLER

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia — When the oil bonanza got under way a decade ago, not all Saudis welcomed it. Some warned that the mad rush to develop would lead to cultural disintegration. Petrodollars, they argued, would erode the country's puritanical values and its religious and political foundations. Cadillac would replace not only camels but also the Koran.

As things turned out, Saudi Arabia today is in many ways far more conservative, restrictive and socially rigid than it was when the boom began. Saudi and Western analysts cite many signs of growing conservatism and increasing influence of the ulemas, the religious leaders. Religious police are more prominent. Restrictions have been imposed on some Christian religious gatherings. Dress rules and the closing of shops during prayer times are stringently enforced, even in the international Safeway.

Seven months ago, the Government closed video game arcades, where young people liked to congregate. In September, it announced that no new video shop licenses would be issued. The kingdom has no public cinemas, theaters or concerts. Nevertheless, more videos cassettes, which provide one of the most popular pastimes, would be without any positive cultural advantage, the Ministry of Information said.

Controls on foreigners have been increased. Fewer expatriate workers' families are permitted to reside in the country. Many Saudis seem to have become withdrawn. They mix socially with foreign residents less frequently than before.

The most severe restrictions have affected women. Because they are segregated from men in public places, even including banks, they are barred from employment in many sectors. They are not permitted to drive cars and must sit behind a partition in the back of buses — for their privacy and protection, the Government says. They cannot travel abroad without permission from husbands, brothers or fathers.

Saudi Arabia has been the most conservative Islamic state, partly because of its role as the cradle of Islam and site of the religion's holiest cities, Mecca and Medina. The roots of its political system lie in a delicate alliance formed in 1700 between a Moslem fundamentalist preacher, Mohammed Ibn Abdul Wahab, and a charismatic Bedouin tribesman, Mohammed Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud provided the sword and Abdul Wahab the ideology to subdue the warring tribes of the Arabian desert. As a result the religious establishment has always been powerful.

Many analysts attribute the tightening to Iran. The Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini continues to send agents into the kingdom, officials say, espe-

cially to the eastern province where most of the Shiite Moslem minority of 300,000 lives. Iran broadcasts daily attacks on the Saudi royal family, who are Sunni Moslems. The broadcasts, which can be heard throughout the country, accuse Saudi leaders of corruption, incompetence, and betrayal of Islamic principles. They urge the two million foreign workers, most of them Moslems, to resist exploitation by their Saudi bosses.

The Saudi establishment is on the defensive, a Western analyst said, and is trying to be more royal than the king — that is, more Islamic than the Ayatollah. The siege of the Great Mosque of Mecca in November 1979 by orthodox Moslem tribesmen seeking to curb Westernization also increased Saudi wariness. Enforcement of restrictions on working women began soon afterward.

Many Saudis also attribute the conservative upsurge to the breakneck pace of economic development. The presence of millions of foreigners seems to have exacerbated xenophobic tendencies. Contrary to development theory, rapid material progress apparently has not brought a breakdown in old customs, even those inimical to growth.

"Economic change has been so pervasive, so rapid, that many Saudis feel threatened," a senior Saudi official said. "They seek to anchor their lives in religion and cultural identity."

Another official said the country's religious leaders had used the mood to reassert their power. The Government has accepted some of their demands, an official said. "But on key questions such as advanced education for women, which some ulemas wish to restrict, we stand firm. We know we force social change at our peril. This Government," he added, "is far more liberal than its people."

Mass education does not appear to have led to social liberalization. Many of the most ardent proponents of the fundamentalist resurgence are young Saudis, including some who attended Western schools and universities.

"We still talk about family ties and respect for elders," another Government official said. "But there is so much ten-

sion now between fathers and sons, between old and new life styles. Some of us lead almost schizophrenic spiritual lives: half in the West; half here."

Fatima Amin Shaker, a young sociologist, added, "You Westerners continue to impose your cultural values and norms on us. The tension makes some young people more, not less conservative."

"We are not going backward," Miss Shaker added. Many Saudis contend that the conservative trend is progress, leading to a purer Islamic state. They say they are not concerned by the contrary trend in most of the Moslem Arab world, where secular justice has replaced religious law and the veil and segregation of women has been dropped, along with many other restrictions.

"Some people just call themselves Moslems," said Muneira al-Ghadeer, a 22-year-old journalist. "We are living our religion."



Sygma/Alain Mogen  
Women on their way to work in Jidda, Saudi Arabia.



Implementation of Last Week's Withdrawal Plan Is Still Uncertain

# In the Palestinian Split, It's Every Arab Leader for Himself

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

TRIPOLI, Lebanon — Something besides the lives of guerrillas and innocent civilians was lost in the past few weeks of intra-Palestinian fighting here. It was the essence of the Palestine Liberation Organization itself. Its epitaph could read: "P.L.O. — founded in Jerusalem by Arab leaders and Palestinians in May 1964. Died in Tripoli at the hands of Arab leaders and Palestinians in November 1983."

There will probably continue to be something called the P.L.O., maybe even two. But what made the P.L.O. unique was never really its organizational structure per se but the concept it represented. The P.L.O. embodied the idea of a Palestinian nation with a single legitimate independent leadership, whose sole purpose was to work on behalf of its people. Under Mr. Arafat's stewardship, the P.L.O. was more or less able to fulfill this role and thereby gain wide acceptance.

But now, whether Mr. Arafat lives or dies, retains his leadership or not, this essence is disintegrating in Tripoli. It seems unlikely that the latest Syrian-Saudi plan for ending the Tripoli crisis — by pulling all of the guerrillas out and opening negotiations between the factions — will be able to resurrect it. All that is clear at this point is that if this plan is to be implemented, it will take long hours of detailed discussion among several volatile parties, with the possibility of collapse and renewed violence constantly present.

## Motions and Motives

The organization's legitimacy has been undermined as much by the current internal split as by the nature of the Tripoli battle. Everyone involved has been wearing a figurative mask. The rebels say they want to get rid of Mr. Arafat — whom they accuse of having sold out to Arab conservatives — to "purify" the revolution. Yet the rebels are led by Ahmed Jabril of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command, which is sponsored by Libya. When Mr. Jabril lived in Beirut, he showed no embarrassment at having his office rent, according to his landlord, paid by the Libyan Embassy.

As for the Syrians, they claim to have nothing to do with what is happening in Tripoli when, in fact, they have everything to do with it. Many see the fighting in Tripoli as the culmination of a drive by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to destroy a hated rival for Arab leadership, Yasser Arafat, not because this will better the lot of the Palestinian people but because it will strengthen Mr. Assad as a power broker.

The release of 4,500 Arab prisoners by Israel last week added slightly to Mr. Arafat's prestige but little to his power. Only a few hundred of the prisoners who were flown to Algeria could be available to help him, even in theory. The rest were out of reach in south Lebanon.

The Arab leaders say they want to mediate an end to the intra-Palestinian dispute in Tripoli to preserve the P.L.O. In fact, many Arab analysts believe, all they want is to preserve themselves and to keep Mr. Arafat alive. They realize that if Yasser Arafat was killed, Palestinians



Palestinian prisoners released by Israel last week boarding an airplane bound for Algeria at Ben Gurion Airport.

United Press International

everywhere would be in an uproar, which could destabilize their own fragile governments. It would not be beyond Mr. Arafat's followers to create a new underground terror organization to avenge his death.

Then there is Mr. Arafat, repeating in his daily press conferences that he is a "sword" to help protect the people of Tripoli from the "Syrian barbarians." In fact, he is hiding behind Tripoli's civilian apartment blocks and hospitals in what appears to be a ploy to draw attention to his plight and his cause.

The battle for Tripoli is a graveyard of shattered illusions. It is the culmination of a decade of malaise and internecine fighting among Arab regimes. The Palestinian cause used to be sacred in Arab politics, something that could draw the Arabs together and foster common feelings. When King Hussein cracked down on the P.L.O. in Jordan in 1970, he became a pariah; the Arabs were up in arms at what he was doing. Today, however, Syrian President Assad and his proxies can chase Mr. Arafat across Lebanon without the Arabs desiring themselves.

But then, noted Michel Abu Jawid, political columnist for the Beirut daily *Al-Nahar*, "There is no 'Arab world' anymore. Iraq is preoccupied with Iran. Syria is

preoccupied with Iraq. Algeria is preoccupied with Morocco, and Egypt is preoccupied with itself. There is nothing anymore called the 'Arab consensus.' It just does not exist on any issue."

## Economic Retrenchment

When an Ahmed Jabril can stand up and brand as a "traitor" Yasser Arafat — who for all his shortcomings has dedicated virtually his whole life for the past 18 years to the Palestinian cause — then the standards of Arab politics have been broken. The most important standard, for the Palestinians, is the decision of the Arab leaders in 1974 at Rabat declaring the P.L.O. the "sole and legitimate" representative of the Palestinian people.

With the P.L.O. leadership split, with the West Bankers looking more than ever toward King Hussein, with Syria on the verge of imposing its domination over Palestinian politics, this tenet does not appear to have much of a future.

The big losers, as usual, are the Palestinian people. With the Arab countries going through an economic retrenchment that makes life difficult for foreign workers, many of whom are Palestinians, and with Lebanon, the

home of several hundred thousand refugees, in turmoil, the Palestinians have no one to turn to for help. The P.L.O. has not done a thing to advance the Palestinian cause since the revolt began on May 11.

Mr. Arafat has claimed repeatedly that he can survive after Tripoli because in the long run, he has Palestinian and Arab public opinion on his side. He may have lost the guns, he says, but he still has the hearts and minds. This may be true but it is probably irrelevant in a region where democracy is a subject read about in imported textbooks and where public opinion counts for little. For the most part, the Arab countries are ruled by the gun, not by hearts and minds, and those who are without power count for very little.

When Mr. Arafat was the unrivaled leader of the Palestinians, the Arab masses chanted his name. But now that he is slipping in the morass of Tripoli, his fate seems to leave most non-Palestinian Arabs rather cold. They have yet to stage a demonstration on his behalf.

It is not for nothing that the Arabs have a proverb that goes, "When the sultan's dog died, everyone marched in his funeral. But when the sultan himself died, no one marched at all."

## The State Department Is at the Top of the New Flow Chart

# Reagan's Foreign Policy Advisers Call a Truce

By LESLIE H. GELB

WASHINGTON — As the national preoccupation with the seemingly successful invasion of Grenada faded, President Reagan had to turn back last week to problems of a more lasting nature, such as what to do about Lebanon and the breakdown of the medium-range missile talks with Moscow. The Grenada decision was mostly a test of Mr. Reagan's instincts. The Middle East and arms control negotiations pose a tougher test of his decision-making system.

Even some high-ranking officials of the Reagan Administration have acknowledged that their system has been a mess, with people pulling in different directions and little follow-through. Now, with the elections less than a year away, they maintain they have made the necessary adjustments in personality and style and have gotten their national security machinery in order.

If so, they may have trouble keeping it that way, as the inquiry by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into unauthorized disclosures of National Security Council decisions and accompanying reports of fighting within the White House staff indicated last week. For almost 15

years, there has been virtually complete secrecy about the Presidential foreign policy advisers. Every President from Richard M. Nixon to Ronald Reagan has conferred with the wiring diagrams and personality match-ups. Except for brief periods, all the different schemes failed — victims of political or ideological conflicts, bureaucratic intrigue, and Presidents who could not run their own systems.

The Reagan people say that the present configuration of personalities and power is just what the President wanted all along. As they describe the system, the State Department leads on policy proposals, the Defense Department comments, and the National Security Council staff coordinates. That means Secretary of State George P. Shultz, along with Under Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger and a few key Assistant Secretaries, have become the paramount advisers. Above all, it means that the new national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, will concentrate on managing the system — assigning the work, seeing that everyone gets in his word, and overseeing implementation — rather than competing with Mr. Shultz.

Administration officials contend that this new setup will work for the following reasons:

First, William P. Clark, who was Mr. McFarlane's predecessor as national security adviser, has a special affinity with Mr. Reagan, which gave him an "unnatural" advantage with the President over the Secretary of State, be it Mr. Shultz or his predecessor, Alexander M. Haig Jr. In contrast, Mr. McFarlane is basically a low-key professional without the stature of predecessors like Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry A. Kissinger, though he is known and trusted by Mr. Reagan.

Second, Mr. Clark's strongly conservative views often went well beyond Mr. Shultz's and Mr. Haig's somewhat more pragmatic bent. Third, the other central White House staff members — James A. Baker 3d, the chief of staff, Michael K. Deaver, a top assistant, and counselor Edwin Meese 3d — generally support Mr. Shultz, whereas they often differed with Mr. Haig.

Finally, the major battles over Central American, Middle Eastern and arms control policy have already been settled, largely along lines recommended by Mr. Shultz. Almost everyone is said to be comfortable with this new conservative, but not far-right, consensus both for foreign policy and election politics.

Though internal squabbling may be held well below recent levels, there are enduring and endemic

problems in this situation, going beyond even the most skillful bureaucratic engineering.

There is a natural tension between the White House staff, which looks at interests very broadly and politically, and the State Department, which tends to concentrate on long-term, bilateral interests with individual countries. The White House usually feels that the State Department is giving too much away to keep the bilateral peace and not paying attention to the President's interests; the department generally believes the White House is being too political and shortsighted.

Ever since Mr. Nixon's time, Presidents have tried to deal with this situation by announcing the primacy of the Secretary of State. But in short order, the closeness of the White House staff to the President and its tendency to play up differences with the State Department seem to turn the President inward toward his own immediate staff. At the same time, most people who have served in an official capacity have come to realize that the department is not in a position to coordinate and make policy authoritatively in areas where interests overlap and conflict — as in arms control and foreign economic policy. Here, the N.S.C. adviser is bound to be predominant, and the Reagan White House has finally moved to assert itself in these areas.

Things seem to work tolerably well only when the President knows his own mind, knows foreign policy and clearly asserts himself over his top advisers. Thus far, as diplomats and most officials here see it, Mr. Reagan has not proven himself on these accounts, and until he does, the problems will not go away.

## Constituent Assembly Scheduled March Elections Last Week

# Can Democracy Survive the Salvadoran Death Squads?

By LYDIA CHAVEZ

SAN SALVADOR — The United States continued to criticize the activities of right-wing death squads last week while welcoming the decision of El Salvador's Constituent Assembly to hold presidential elections on March 25. American officials are worried, however, that unless the terrorist activity is brought under control, elections will do little to resolve the country's problems.

The Reagan Administration points to elections as evidence that democracy is working but is concerned that the death squads could turn the campaign into a period of assassinations and prevent a moderate government from taking power.

The rightist activity "is an essential stumbling block to democracy in El Salvador," United States Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering declared in a speech to business leaders last week. Mr. Pickering said that information about some of the people involved was "available to many of us" but added, "I am deeply aware that much of that information may not at present be sufficient for a court of law. My deep concern is that no one seems to be trying to develop evidence that would stand up in court." He repeated previous warnings that the price of failure to act would be reduced aid or conditional aid. The Administration has not gotten all the funds it has requested from Congress largely because of dissatisfaction with the inaction of the Salvadoran Government and court system in prosecuting people for crimes against civilians.

Other than public statements against the paramilitary groups and threats to cancel visas for suspected members who travel to the United States, the Reagan Administration has yet to take any action. So far, the threats have not produced any results.

"Right now this country is like a hornet's nest that has been pricked, but not destroyed," said a Salvadoran



Defense Minister Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova (saluting) and President Alvaro Magaña reviewing troops in San Salvador.

United Press International

with close ties to the Government. "All of those people who have been mentioned as being involved in the death squads are still in power and it's very dangerous."

Some Salvadoran politicians believe the Government is too weak to take action, or afraid that such action could provoke a coup. State Department officials have said the American Embassy has a list of about 28 Salvadorans involved in the death squads, including some

army officials. President Alvaro Magaña and Defense Minister Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova have denied army officers are involved. Last month, however, according to military and political sources, the Defense Minister was considering ousting several officers for participating in the right-wing groups. A military source said that General Vides Casanova now feared trying to make major changes in personnel because some of the

officers could simply refuse to leave.

President Magaña said last week he was "very frustrated" with the death squad activity, but was unsure what his Government could do about it. A senior Government official said he did not expect any changes in the near future.

The Government is left with only four months before the presidential election to make such changes. Embassy officials are concerned that the death squads may make the months of campaigning very difficult and try to destabilize the new government once it is in place. There is also concern that the two likeliest candidates will polarize the country. Both José Napoleon Duarte, who is seeking to run for the Christian Democrats, and Roberto d'Aubuisson, who is likely to run for the rightist National Republican Alliance, take contentious stands and arouse strong feelings for and against them. American officials worry that they will sacrifice realism for ideology.

The political situation and the effect of the death squads on it are not Washington's only worries. "The military situation is not going particularly well in El Salvador," Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger said last week. He added, however, that "we have no intention whatever of putting combat troops into El Salvador." Thus far, United States military personnel have officially played only an adviser role there and with spotty results. In one particularly embarrassing incident last week, 135 Government troops surrendered to rebel attackers in the eastern town of Amamoros. The rebels disarmed them, then turned them over to the Red Cross.

A high-ranking official at the embassy said "a good, strong, widely accepted Government would be a godsend to this country, and all kinds of things could be done, but that is not going to be in El Salvador." Asked if he thought the United States would have to intervene after the election, he shook his head and said, "I certainly hope not, but who knows?"

# BROADWAY 80

WARNING — The Ministry of Health has determined that smoking is harmful to health

I'm glad I changed.



# The Nation

## Party Squabbles Over Who's First And Foremost

With a conflict between Democrat National Committee chairman Charles T. Manatt's principles and several states' pride turning into a small war, Senator Alan Cranston last week made sure local chieftains would have no question where his affections lie. Mr. Cranston called on Mr. Manatt to concentrate on the problem, which revolves around scheduling, and not on the national party's needs. To dramatize his point he pulled out of the "Presidential Sweep," a flying fund-raiser Mr. Manatt organized for early December.

The California Senator showed his solidarity with the grassroots four days after Iowa's central committee formally defied a party dictum by voting to hold its caucuses Feb. 20, not Feb. 27, as Democratic party rules adopted two years ago would have it. Iowa's concern is that its status as the first caucus state not be overshadowed by New Hampshire, the first primary state. New Hampshire is now voting Feb. 28, not March 6, as the new rules require, to insure a respectable lead on Vermont. Vermont holds a nonbinding "beauty contest" primary, in which no delegates are selected, March 6.

Mr. Manatt, a firm believer in following rules, has threatened not to seat convention delegates selected in Iowa and New Hampshire. He is particularly irritated with New Hampshire, because it had originally agreed to the March date. But he is also concerned about the practical precedent, and Wisconsin. The new rules call for that state to abandon its traditional cross-over voting, which permits Republicans to vote in the Democratic primary.

### Contenders' Standings

The candidates who will be voted on in Iowa — save one — aren't so worried about who's first either. Most leading Democrats there now take it for granted that former Vice President Mondale will take the caucus. The issue for them is who will be No. 2 and No. 3, and how close they will come. They are mindful of 1972 and the surprise second-place showing of former Senator George McGovern, who took the nomination from former Senator Edmund Muskie that year and who is trying again this time around. Like Mr. Cranston, they have been moving reinforcements into Iowa, and assiduously courting local leaders.

Right now, Senator John Glenn has the most to lose by looking like just another also-ran. According to a Gallup Poll released last week, he's edged up a bit. In a survey conducted in late October, Democratic voters preferred Mr. Mondale to Mr. Glenn, 34 percent to 23 percent; in a poll earlier in the month, it was 40 percent to 21 percent. The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson also got a boost last week, the endorsement of Mayor Andrew Young, the former mayor of Atlanta; a number of other prominent black leaders have declared for the mainstream of the party, and some for Mr. Mondale, as a better bet.

The man whose office the Democrats would like to occupy, Ronald Reagan, spent the Thanksgiving holiday at his ranch near Santa Barbara, and politicking just a little. In his national radio address yesterday, the President sought to reassure both supporters of former Interior Secretary James G. Watt and his opponents, by praising Mr. Watt's controversial land-sale policies and calling reports of their extent distorted.

Meanwhile, back at the White House, new security measures were put into effect, including the stationing at the gates of seven sand-filled National Park Service dump trucks. At week's end, Administration officials were declining to say how long the tightened security would stay in place — no extra precautions were reported at the ranch — or what had prompted the move. A spokesman for the police guarding the Capitol said a telephone warning of "vehicles with bombs aboard" had been received at 3 A.M. Wednesday.

## 'Right to Know' Rule is Ready

When the Carter Administration proposed that workers should be told if they were handling hazardous chemicals and how their health might be affected, industry spokesmen complained. Telling all would be expensive and blabbing about "secret ingredients" would be bad business, they said. Last week, the Reagan Administration's new chemical-identification program was uncoiled, and it contained an additive that suited the industry just fine.

Under a regulation drafted by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, manufacturers would, as originally proposed, have to spell out for their factory hands the risks of chemicals they handle. But companies could withhold information by claiming a need to protect "legitimate trade secrets." A company could, however, be required to dis-



Charles T. Manatt

vulge a trade secret during an emergency, and to disclose the information at other times when health professionals or industrial hygienists stated acceptable reasons for demanding it and promised to keep the trade secret to themselves.

Thorne G. Auchter, administrator of the safety and health agency, said the rule "strikes a very careful balance" between health considerations and industry concerns about loose lips. Spokesmen for the Chemical Manufacturers Association and the National Association of Manufacturers praised the "cost effectiveness" of the program. According to Administration calculations, companies will be required to spend \$600 million on educational programs; by comparison, the Carter Administration's rule would have cost an estimated \$2.6 billion. The regulation, which would supersede "right to know" laws on the books in 17 states, wouldn't apply to an estimated 60 million workers, critics noted. Margaret Seminario, an A.F.L.-C.I.O. safety specialist, complained that health professionals "would have to jump through hoops" to get vital information about a chemical.

## At the End of A Troubled Term

Fisk University, one of the oldest and most prestigious of black institutions of higher learning, has for several years also been one of the most financially troubled. Last week, its president, Dr. Walter J. Leonard, took apparently the only remaining step within his power to aid the Nashville school: He resigned.

Faced with rising debts nearly matching its dwindling endowment of about \$3 million, Fisk found itself shunned by some potential benefactors who evidently didn't like something about Dr. Leonard. In his letter of resignation, Dr. Leonard said he had been advised that several people "of influence and wealth" were prepared to open their checkbooks on the condition that he quit.

The pressure for his resignation became apparent last spring, when the faculty gave him a vote of no confidence, citing what some called a lack of leadership. Around the same time, the Nashville Gas Company turned off the school's heat because of an unpaid bill of \$170,000. Since then, the Internal Revenue Service has threatened to attach university property unless Fisk comes up with a plan to pay more than \$500,000 in back payroll taxes.

Timothy Donaldson, the chairman of Fisk's trustees, praised Dr. Leonard's "personal devotion" to the school, which he had headed since 1977. Mr. Donaldson said a search committee would be appointed immediately to find a successor.

## Vote Tally Due At Greyhound

If leaders of the Amalgamated Transit Union have their way, the Greyhound strikers who are voting on a new contract proposal will decide to keep on leaving the driving to the bosses.

The management offer, presented 10 days ago, calls for a wage cut of 7.5 percent rather than the 9.5 percent that the company's 12,700 employees walked out over Nov. 15. Two weeks ago, the presidents of 31 union locals decided the \$40 a week on average was still too much to lose, but agreed to submit the contract to the rank and file. Results of the vote are to be announced tomorrow. If the offer is not approved, Greyhound Lines said, it will expand the limited service it began a week into the strike in 27 states. Those buses, it says, are carrying nearly as many passengers as they did on the day before Thanksgiving a year ago. Last week, strikers' pickets were reinforced by members of other unions; sporadic violence against Greyhound buses continued.

Caroline Rand Herron  
and Michael Wright

## The Outline of Poverty Has a Sharp Political Edge

# Are There More of Those With Less?

By ROBERT FEAR

WASHINGTON

FEW statistical tasks are charged with more political significance than the definition and measurement of poverty. Liberals who want to spend more on anti-poverty programs cite Census Bureau data showing that the official poverty rate has risen in each of the last four years and that there are nearly 10 million more poor people now than in 1978.

Conservatives who want to limit spending for such programs say the official figures grossly overstate the poverty problem because they ignore the value of noncash benefits such as food stamps, Medicaid and Federal housing subsidies. David A. Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, recently told Congress that if noncash benefits had counted as income, the poverty rate for 1982 would have been reduced from the official 15 percent to 9.6 percent, and the number of poor people would have dropped by more than a third, from 34.4 million to 22 million.

In a sense, Mr. Stockman was diminishing the problem by redefining it. But he was also pointing out a fact that economists and politicians have come to appreciate more and more: A person below the poverty line today, who has access to food stamps and other such benefits, is better off than a person of comparable income 20 years ago, when such benefits did not exist.

The official measure of poverty used by the Census Bureau and other Federal agencies was originally developed by Mollie Orshansky, an economist at the Social Security Administration, in the early 1960's. The need for such a yardstick arose when President Johnson declared his War on Poverty in 1964.

### Evaluating Benefits

The Agriculture Department had found in a 1965 survey that the average family of three or more people spent approximately one-third of its income on food; the poverty level was therefore set at three times the cost of a low-cost family food budget, including specific amounts of meat, vegetables and other commodities. The poverty level is adjusted each year to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index. In 1982, a family of four was classified as poor if it had cash income of less than \$9,862 a year.

Economists often describe this as an absolute measure of poverty. With a relative measure, by contrast, the poverty line would rise or fall with changes in the real income of the population, after inflation.

The debate over poverty has become much more sophisticated in the last 18 months. Liberals and conservatives, while disagreeing as much as ever on the merits of various policies, have come to agree on the definition of certain terms and to accept certain principles. The liberals now concede that noncash benefits would, if

counted as income, reduce the poverty rate. The conservatives acknowledge that the inclusion of such benefits would not eliminate poverty as it is officially defined.

The recent changes in the debate are due, in part, to a "technical paper" done for the Census Bureau by Timothy M. Smeeding, an economist at the University of Utah, who investigated various ways of evaluating noncash benefits. He and others have found no entirely satisfactory way to estimate the value of medical benefits that people receive from the Government. Such benefits could be counted as income equal to the price that people pay for the same goods and services in the private market. But that would lead to the absurd conclusion that a person gets richer just because he gets sicker and receives more Government-financed health care. This effect is exaggerated if an elderly person's income is assumed to increase when Medicaid pays for costly long-term care in a nursing home. Moreover, when doctors and hospitals increase their fees, Government benefits may increase without improving the well-being of recipients.

Mr. Stockman contributed to the debate on poverty when, for the purpose of analysis, he divided the nation's poor into four groups: 3.8 million elderly, 11.3 million people in households headed by women, 1.3 million single people between 18 and 24 years old and 18 million other adults ages 25 to

64. Mr. Stockman said that economic growth, "the major goal of this Administration," would alleviate poverty for people in their prime working years, but he acknowledged that it was "largely irrelevant" to the elderly poor, many of whom have retired. In contrast, he said, cash welfare programs were of less value to young singles than to poor people in female-headed households, for whom Government checks were of "critical and overwhelming significance."

The Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, in a recent report, found the nation's poverty statistics inadequate to answer basic questions such as who was in need and how many poor people received benefits from one or more programs. It traced the problem to the fact that Federal, state and local agencies run scores of uncoordinated programs providing cash, medical care, food, housing and other types of assistance. The panel recommended that the Federal Government issue a comprehensive statistical report on the status of the poor every two years. It also suggested a national network of computerized data on social welfare programs, using Federal statistical standards.

Starting next year, the Census Bureau plans to issue simultaneous reports showing the official poverty rate, using the usual definition, and what the rate would be if the noncash benefits were counted as income.

## The poor and their differing needs

David A. Stockman's view of poverty

	Elderly (65 years and older)	Female- headed households	Young singles (16 to 24 years old)	Other adults (25 to 64 years old)
<b>Poverty groups:</b>				
Number of poor people (in millions)	3.751	11.286	1.349	18.012
Poverty rate	14.6%	42.1%	32.0%	10.4%
Share of poor	10.9%	32.8%	3.9%	52.3%
<b>And how they are affected by:</b>				
Economic growth	Irrelevant	Significant	Significant	Critical
Social insurance (Social Security, Medicare)	Critical	Limited	Irrelevant	Irrelevant
Means-tested benefits (food stamps, welfare, Supplemental Security Income)	Secondary	Critical	Minimal	Secondary

Source: Office of Management and Budget; 1982 figures

## For Black Families, the Odds Are Formidable

By JUDITH CUMMINGS

LOS ANGELES

IN the past 30 years, the dominance of the traditional two-parent family among black Americans has been receding at a rapid pace, with causes linked to everything from the elimination of many basic-industry jobs to the sexual revolution and women's growing financial independence.

Last year, 47 percent of black households with children were headed by women, up from 21 percent in 1960 and only 8 percent in 1950. The comparable figure for white families was just 15 percent last year, although that too represented a substantial increase.

Among blacks, many families that are holding onto the traditional structure are barely doing so, especially in poor neighborhoods such as the sun-drenched district of south-central Los Angeles where James and Essie McNeese live. Only a few perilous missteps away from becoming another social statistic.

The McNeeses live, with their 10 children and 2 grandchildren, in complete reliance on public assistance. The 43-year-old father is totally disabled as a result of an injury long ago as a Mississippi farmworker. Any of the exigencies of life on the margin — a random street crime, a serious illness — could leave Mrs. McNeese struggling to head the family alone.

But the couple has kept the family together in the face of high odds. A few weeks ago they unexpectedly gained some much-needed assistance of a type that has begun to crop up more and more in response to what is commonly called the crisis of the black family.

The McNeeses have been "adopted" by a new organization called the Adopt-A-Family Endowment, a local group of black professionals that was founded in September by a cardiologist, Dr. James Mays. Dr. Mays believes that volunteer teams of doctors, lawyers and other professionals can provide poor families with the services and counseling, the encouragement and role-models that may help them stay intact and gain a foothold on the other side of the poverty line.

It is a concept that has gained currency among black organizations as a way of marshaling their resources to reverse a breakdown in the traditional family structure that experts say may be both a cause and effect of poverty.

Few think such self-help projects alone will solve the problems of the family, much less eradicate poverty. Still, more and more volunteers such as Dr. Mays say they consider self help, along with government policy changes, essential to improving the economic prospects of women and blacks.

A major aspect of the problem has been an increase in the proportion of children born out of wedlock to young mothers. The birth rate among unmarried black teen-agers has fallen recently,



Dr. James Mays (right) with James and Essie McNeese (left) and their children, grandchildren and relatives at Thanksgiving dinner in Los Angeles.

but it declined even faster among married and older women, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. As a result, 55 percent of black infants were born to unmarried mothers last year. And census data indicate that families headed by single women were twice as likely to live in poverty because of women's dependence on low-paying jobs or welfare.

"The kinds of jobs many women can get," said Prudence Brown, an administrator of the urban poverty program of the Ford Foundation, "do not in a major way make it possible for them, like men do, to move out of poverty." Often such jobs, which are primarily low-paid service positions such as nurses aides and waitresses, do not furnish the kinds of health and other benefits that would permit many women and their children to end their reliance on Medicaid, she said.

One of Ford's single-parent programs is a pilot project in rural Maine aimed at persuading employers to abandon stereotypes about welfare mothers and to hire them for better-paying "male" jobs in the construction trades. The carrot offered to employers, low-cost business loans, is a rich one. The Maine location means no blacks are involved, Dr. Brown said, but if the program works there it may be expanded.

There is mounting evidence that job programs and policies that are not specifically designed to create jobs for the poorest of the poor, notably women heading families, simply do not reach

them. One recent study by a University of Southern California sociologist, Dr. Judith Treas, found that the Reagan Administration strategy to reduce unemployment by stimulating the economy may work for traditional, male-headed families, the group most prepared to take advantage of new jobs as they are created. But "trickle down" benefits have a poor record of reaching women living on their own, she said, particularly those raising young children.

What is still critically lacking, many experts say, is a comprehensive jobs policy to help reverse the precipitous drop in the employment of black men that occurred over the same years that the number of women heading households was rising so steeply. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hopes to spur some action through a conference on the black family in Washington in March.

In the interim, groups such as Dr. Mays's Adopt-A-Family say they are making steps, admittedly small, toward restoring values that have been eroded by decades of harsh urban realities. A second family has been adopted under the program by the local chapter of the National Council of Negro Women, and more such arrangements are in the offing. "As we got more and more sophisticated, we got away from the personal interaction," said Carl T. Wallace, administrator of the project. "This is really going back to some things we've lived in the past."



# The Twilight of the Industrial Ruhr

Its once-bustling plants are falling silent. Is the malaise cyclical or embedded for years to come?

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

**OBERHAUSEN, WEST GERMANY** — A long, straight road, a high wall that slices through the heart of the Ruhr Valley, there is a cracked and weathered sign that reads, "We Are Hiring."

But the fence on which it hangs is rusted; the building behind it is boarded up. Everywhere the remains of dismantled blast furnaces lie like the bleached bones of dinosaurs in knee-high weeds. The Ruhr, once the powerful engine of Germany's industrial juggernaut, has run out of steam.

Just 10 years ago, businessmen from around the world flocked to the grimy cities of this valley to buy the huge machines and equipment that have made its name synonymous with industrial quality. Oberhausen, the gray and gritty home of 240,000 people, is one of those cities. Back then, Thyssen, Germany's biggest steel company, kept 14,000 workers busy turning out heavy steel plate, light steel sections and wire for machine builders, shipyards and construction companies.

But then the world plunged into a

week to a bare 20 hours, Thyssen has had to pare its workforce at Oberhausen to 8,000. And on Friday, the steel giant approved plans to shut down a press works. The company tried to soften the blow by adding that it would keep steel plate production going "for the time being." Thyssen says the decision will mean the loss of 600 jobs but union leaders figure 2,100 jobs will eventually be lost. That would be a harsh blow to this town where the unemployment rate already is 15.9 percent.

The Oberhausen pattern is repeated throughout the depressed Ruhr, a patch of hill country — no bigger than Washington, D.C. — that tucks into the angle of northwestern Germany created by the borders of the Netherlands and Belgium. The region's huge steel companies — Thyssen, Hoesch, and Krupp — are cutting back their basic operations and have even talked merger. Ruhrkohle, the big energy company whose coal mines fire the steel mills, will lose \$226 million this year because of falling demand. More than 13 percent of the Ruhr's workers, some 255,000 people, are unemployed.

The fundamental question confronting West Germany's economic strategists is whether the Ruhr's afflictions are cyclical, and thus likely to be remedied by the arrival one day of a sustained economic recovery, or structural, and therefore destined to remain a problem no matter what good turns the business cycle should take.

Those who espouse the latter view say the Ruhr's misfortunes are symptomatic of a malaise afflicting other basic German industries such as textiles and shipbuilding, which have been doubly hurt in recent years by recession at home and fierce competition from lower-cost producers abroad. They also view the Ruhr as a mirror of troubles afflicting most de-

veloped nations today — the United States included — which are struggling to salvage heavy, basic industries under attack from low-cost foreign producers and from substitute materials, such as plastic and aluminum.

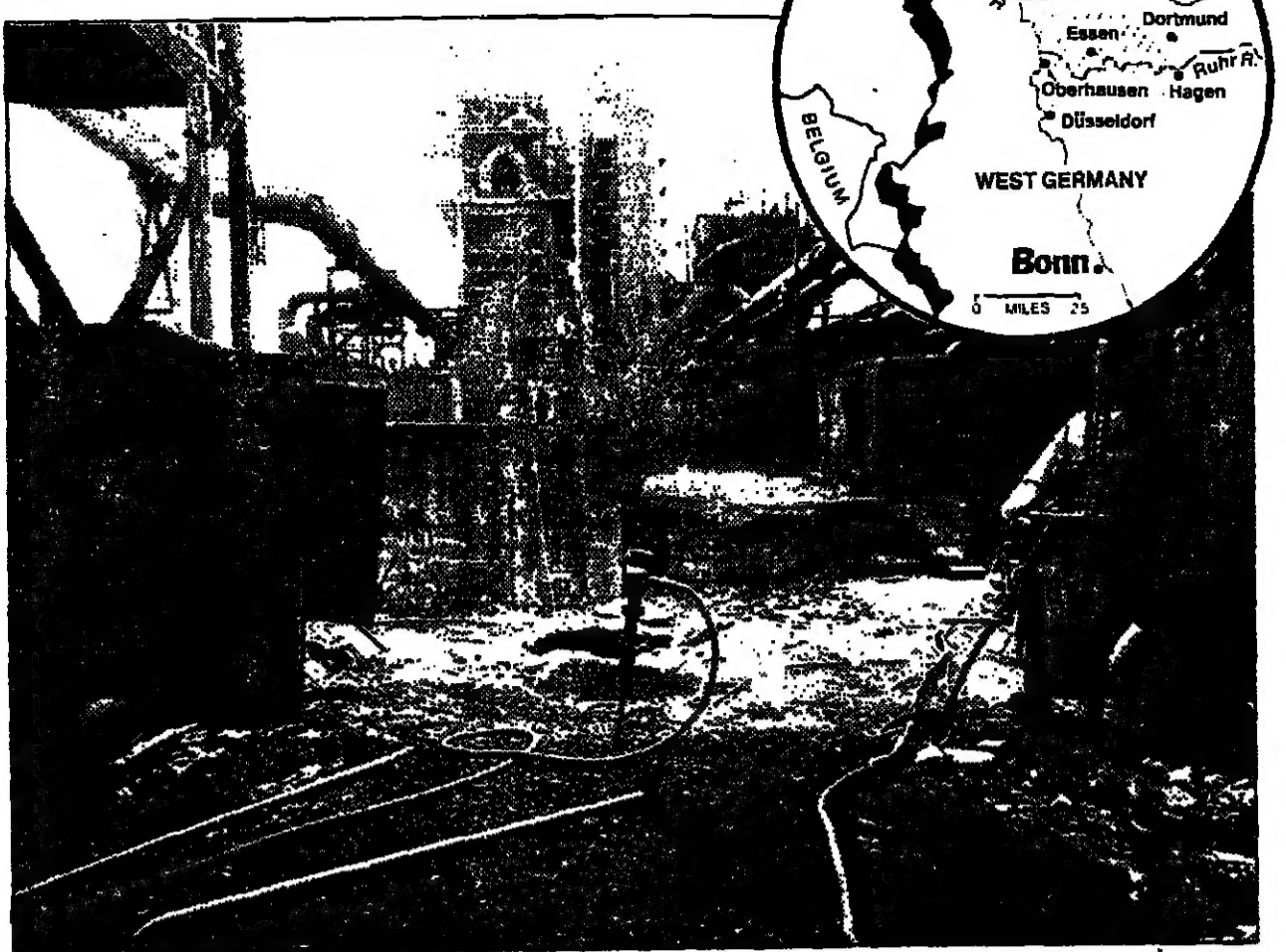
If the structuralists are right, the Ruhr must sharply reduce its dependence upon its weakened basic industries and diversify into more sophisticated industries with greater growth potential. Policy has begun to take

baby steps in this direction. Bonn and the State Government of North Rhine-Westphalia, where the Ruhr flows on its way to the Rhine, are pumping several billion dollars into subsidies for existing industries and into efforts to attract high technology companies to the region.

For politicians, the Ruhr's fate could turn out to be critically important. The right-wing Government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl won a landslide victory in national elections last March on the promise to revive West Germany's flagging economy and create jobs. Many Ruhr workers, who traditionally lean to the political left, apparently voted for the conservatives in desperation. If the Ruhr continues to slide they may switch back to the Socialist Democrats.

The Ruhr, of course, has been down and out before. During World War II, British and American bombers flattened the huge steel and armament producing plants situated in the Thorens destroyed roughly 30 percent of the region's steel mills and damaged other factories beyond repair. To prevent the resurgence of what Allied leaders had come to view as militaristic Germany's industrial Hydra, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr. sent a memorandum to President Franklin D. Roosevelt proposing that the Ruhr be totally deindustrialized by tearing down all of its industries and returning the valley to farming and sheep grazing.

Resistance to the plan by European leaders, mainly in Britain and the Netherlands (roughly three-fourths of the port of Rotterdam's traffic before the war involved goods from the Ruhr), enabled the valley to revive and help fuel the remarkable economic growth that West Germany generated after its recovery from the ruins of World War II. High-quality iron ores from Sweden, Brazil and Australia came barging down the



A foundry in Gelsenkirchen owned by Thyssen-Schalkerverein.

the labor unions. Thus Dortmund's Social Democratic mayor, Günter Samtlebe, is an influential union member and an employee of Hoesch, the steel concern. The Social Democrats' parliament member from Duisburg is an engineer at Thyssen.

The most pernicious effect of this paternalistic control was the atrophy of small innovative business in the shadow of the coal and steel giants, says Theo Siepert, business editor of the Neue Ruhr Zeitung, the region's most influential daily. The steel giants, moreover, failed in the 1970's to develop the new technologies required to compete against the steel industries of such emerging industrial nations as Spain, Brazil, and South Korea. In addition, the relentlessly blue-collar tinge of the region mitigated against the development of institutions of higher education in the valley. The first university in the Ruhr was not founded until the 1960's.

The ramifications of that coalition are now ravaging the Ruhr. "If we cannot get the drive back into the region," said Dieter Hockel, an economist at Germany's trade union Federation in Düsseldorf, "then Morgenthau has won out in the end."

To remedy what they believe to be structural problems, policy makers like Reinhold Jochimsen, the economics minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, are backing a five-year, \$2.7-billion, government program to transform the valley by attracting high-tech companies with cash grants, low-cost property and improved university facilities that, it is hoped, will eventually spew forth new research and a skilled work force. "A region that was founded on basic products — steel, coal, ores — a key region for 150 years, is now in a process of adjustment at a time of slow growth," says Mr. Jochimsen — and it needs Government help.

But if the problem is primarily cyclical, as some West Germans still believe, such sweeping changes may not be needed. Industries that are suppliers for machinery and machine tool makers, automobile and plant builders could be expected to burst back to life automatically once the West German economy revives.

"The giant steel companies have some dead branches, but they have lively products too, with state-of-the-art technology," says Theo Siepert, of

## The Economy

the Neue Ruhr Zeitung, an optimist in the current debate. "The Ruhr is not Belgium. It is not dead or in intensive care."

Analysts of Mr. Siepert's stripe argue that the Ruhr's traditional businesses must be kept largely intact to take advantage of eventual economic recovery. And recover it must, they believe, if West Germany is to remain the industrial powerhouse of Europe.

The farmers and their sheep are unlikely to reclaim control of the Ruhr any time soon. But the industrial barons and those other post-World War II powers in the Ruhr, the trade unions, have lost some of their once unshakable grip. The steel fiefdoms of Thyssen and Krupp are particularly shaky. Their mighty mills will produce barely 30 million tons of steel this year, a far cry from the postwar peak of 53 million tons in 1974. And even tougher times lie ahead. Thyssen, for example, plans to slash its annual crude steel capacity of 16 million metric tons by about one-third. Krupp, another of the region's major steel producers, has announced capacity cuts that will eliminate 4,000 of its 34,000 steelmaking jobs by the end of 1985. What's more, steel company executives predict that the industry will lose about \$1.2 billion, or roughly \$40 for every ton it produces in 1983.

Steel's problems have spread to other industries. The coal mining industry, too, is in deep trouble, despite huge Government subsidies — \$235 million this year alone. Industry leaders and Government officials agree that lower demand from steelmakers and utilities has built up such huge coal reserves that production cuts and worker layoffs are inevitable.

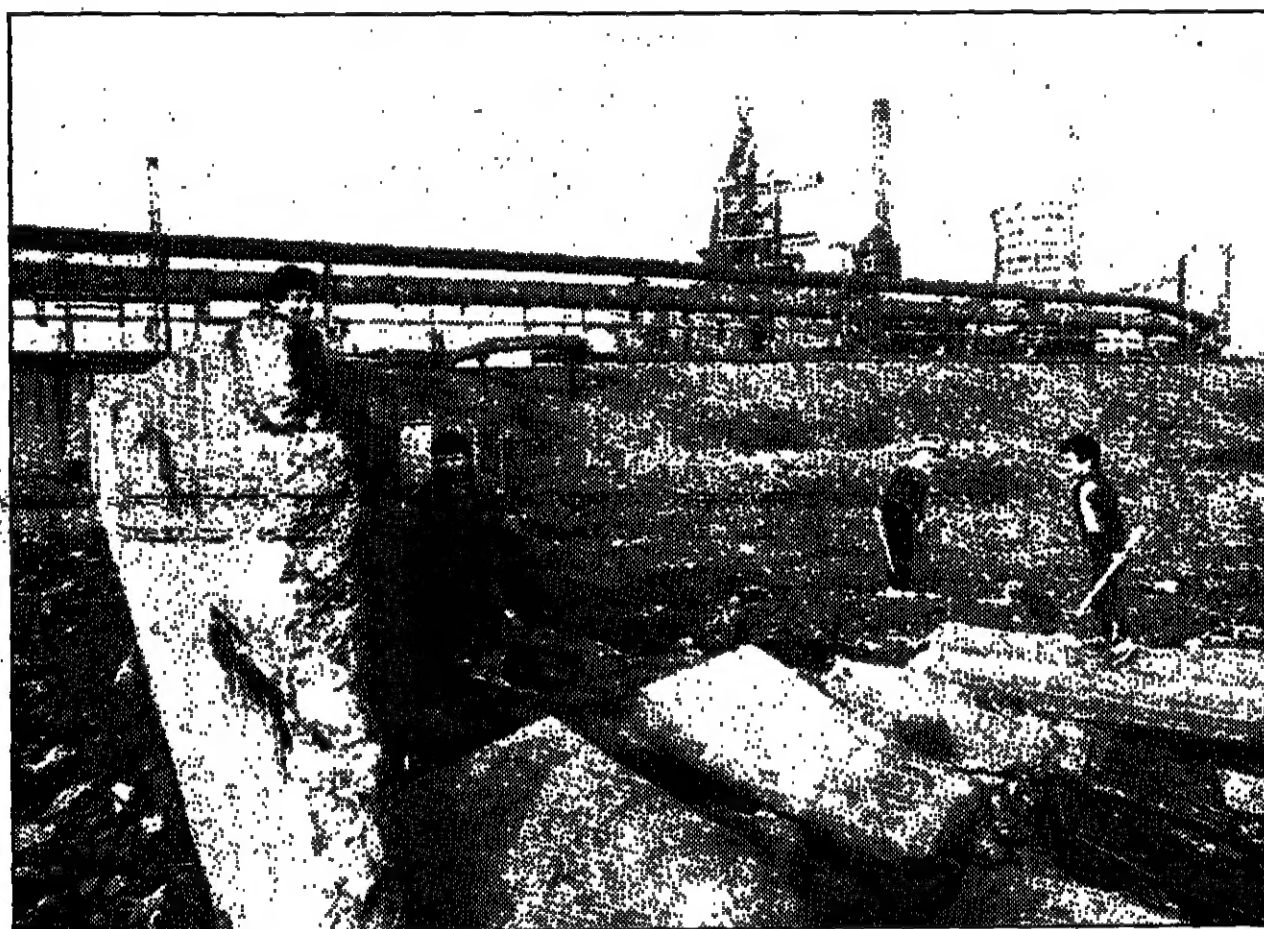
In steel towns like Dortmund and

Duisburg — trim, modern cities that still reflect three decades of unbroken prosperity — unemployment is above 15 percent, nearly twice the national average. Now it seems bound to rise even higher.

That jobless figure is rendered all the more dramatic by the wave of emigration that has drained the Ruhr in recent years. During the 1960's, when cheap oil from the Middle East began to undercut the viability of the Ruhr coal industry, some 300,000 people left the region for jobs in the fast-growing south German cities of Stuttgart and Munich, where electrical companies like Siemens or Bosch and auto makers like Daimler-Benz were thriving. Between 1970 and 1980 a further quarter of a million Ruhrers followed suit.

The unemployment picture is likely to get worse before it gets better. The steelmakers are slashing the production of bulk steel and other traditional items that can no longer compete on world markets. (Like most West German industries, steel is heavily dependent upon the export market.) To take up the slack, the companies are concentrating upon sophisticated, higher value-added products, ranging from precision machinery and electronics to turnkey factories. But world markets for even these products remains soft.

The program to attract high-tech companies is enjoying some success. Although its major production facilities will remain in southern Germany, Hewlett-Packard has opened a regional center near Düsseldorf, and a new service center in Dortmund. Also in Dortmund, Hoesch Steel expanded its software consulting subsidiary, M.B.P., helping to triple the number of jobs in the region's computer industry, to 1,500, since 1975.



Children playing at the site of a closed mine in Duisburg.

troubled era of high energy costs, recession and stop-go growth from which it has yet to emerge. Cash-strapped customers from the developing nations put their expansion plans in limbo and stopped buying. The West European building slump squeezed demand for sections and wire, and the decline of the Continent's shipyards and oil refineries slumped demand for the heavy plate used to build hulls and storage tanks.

Today, despite reducing the work

developed nations today — the United States included — which are struggling to salvage heavy, basic industries under attack from low-cost foreign producers and from substitute materials, such as plastic and aluminum.

If the structuralists are right, the Ruhr must sharply reduce its dependence upon its weakened basic industries and diversify into more sophisticated industries with greater growth potential. Policy has begun to take

Rhine to Duisburg, whose maze of docks and arching cranes make it Europe's biggest inland port — a clearing house for raw materials coming in and finished steel and industrial goods going out.

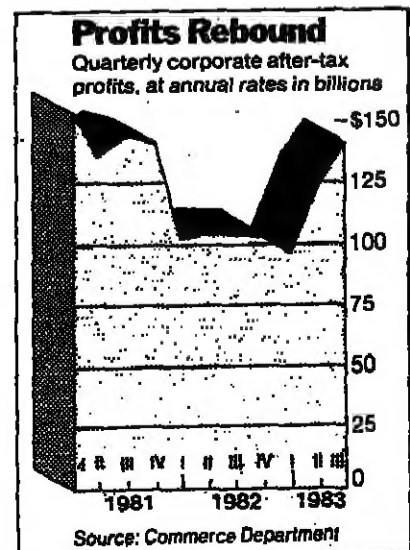
The post-World War II era was marked by a curious entangling of the industrial and political forces that controlled the region. The Ruhr's steel barons increasingly had to share their power with the powerful Social Democratic Party and its close allies,

### WEEK IN BUSINESS

## Surging Profits Fill Corporate Tills

The nation's businesses continued to pile up profits in the third quarter — heartening news for economists worried that the recovery would stumble at the vital second stage of recovery, capital investment. After-tax profits rose 11.6 percent, to a \$141.9 billion annual rate in the July-September period. This followed a 17.6 percent rise in the second quarter. The surge in earnings will help corporations avoid going further into debt to pay for new plants and equipment, plus reduce the chances that the heavy levels of Government borrowing will crowd out private borrowing and push rates higher. Economists have feared that business would balk at going deeper into debt and that after the current wave of strong consumer spending dies down there will be little economic vitality to keep the economy expanding.

But consumers have yet to stop buying, and all signs point to a healthy Christmas selling season. Personal income in October jumped 1.2 percent — the largest rise in more than two years. This puts more money in consumers' pockets, which in turn enables them to increase their buying as well as savings rates. Moreover, prices as measured by the Consumer Price Index rose only four-tenths of 1 percent in October, increasing optimism among analysts for the near future. "This is strong



evidence of good times in 1984," one economist said.

Other economic news released by the Government included a 3 percent jump in orders at the factory level for durable goods such as appliances and automobiles, and an adjustment of the growth in third-quarter real gross national product to 7.7 percent, down from the previous estimate of 7.9 percent.

Debut. As small investors stood on the sidelines and institutions jumped into the fray, 1.5 billion shares of

eight new telephone companies began trading on the New York Stock Exchange. While interest was somewhat muted in the regional companies, frenzied buying throughout the week focused on both the "new" and "old" A.T.&T.'s. In the four trading days, more than 26 million shares of the new company exchanged hands, while almost 15 million shares of the old company were traded. For brokers, it was a windfall. Commissions for the first day alone were \$2.5 million for the eight new companies, a welcome lift after a trying third quarter for the industry.

The rest of the stock market joined the celebration — pushing the averages back to near their all-time highs. The Dow Jones industrial average rose 26.42 points to 1,277.44, just seven points shy of its record. Interest rates fell through most of the week, as the credit markets were encouraged by the economic news. The Government's 30-year bond closed the week yielding 11.63 percent. Because of the Thanksgiving holiday, the Federal Reserve did not release money supply data.

Nickel Triangle. Cuba exports almost half of its nickel production to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union sells the United States millions of dollars of nickel a year. Washington thinks some of that Cuban nickel is included in the Soviet shipments. Thus,

to enforce a 20-year ban on exports from Cuba, the Administration announced a ban on imported Soviet nickel. The Administration sees the action as more pressure on Cuba to curb its "exportation of armed violence."

I.M.F. Mercy. After months of negotiations, the International Monetary Fund formally approved a somewhat relaxed austerity plan for Brazil that paved the way for the country to draw upon some \$12 billion in new loans. The key area where Brazil has not met the fund's original requirements has been the rate of money supply creation and the growth of public sector borrowing, which in turn have created far higher levels of inflation than the I.M.F. desired.

When a Chairman Loses His Seat. The group of dissident shareholders that were challenging the management of the Condec Corporation, the maker of valves and heavy equipment based in Old Greenwich, Conn., has apparently won its proxy battle. In a preliminary tally, the dissident slate led by Chicago businessman William F. Farley won 1.9 million shares to management's 1.8 million. Condec management said it would challenge the count, but it looks like the Farley group might get its planned leveraged buyout of Condec after all.

### The New York Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED NOVEMBER 25, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
ATT	26,352,000	20%	+
ATT	14,980,700	66%	+ 3 1/4
Es Kod	5,588,400	73%	+ 3
Supr Oil	4,625,300	35%	+ 2 1/2
Gulf Oil	4,335,600	43%	+ 1 1/2
IBM	4,085,700	121	- 2 1/2
Dom Co	3,948,300	23%	...
JLLCo	3,677,700	13	- 1 1/2
Pan Am	3,261,000	8%	+ 1/2
Exxon	2,977,900	37%	+ 1
Sears	2,616,200	40%	- 1/2
Mid S Ut	2,561,600	15%	- 1/2
Hew Pk	2,544,700	40%	+ 1/2
Mol	2,540,200	28%	+ 1/2
Chrysler	2,527,600	26%	- 1/2

#### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	1,218	1,157
Declines	763	839
Total Issues	2,211	2,229
New Highs	180	143
New Lows	63	47

#### VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	381,191,605	19,441,940,740
Same Per. 1982	253,863,120	14,621,294,147

#### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last Chng
New York Stock Exchange			
Indust	112.0	111.0	111.9 +1.14
Transp	101.1	99.7	100.9 +1.18
Utilities	49.1	48.2	49.1 +0.84
Finance	96.3	95.3	96.3 +1.13
Composite	96.5	95.4	96.5 +1.09

#### Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	189.3	184.2	187.8 +2.42
20 Transp	32.6	31.7	32.2 +0.28
40 Utilities	69.5	68.1	69.0 +0.24
15 Finance	18.7	18.0	18.5 +0.38
500 Stocks	188.4	183.8	187.1 +2.09

#### Dow Jones

30 Indust	1287.8	1248.1	1277.4 +28.42
20 Transp	817.9	801.8	810.2 +4.20
15 Utilities	138.6	135.6	137.5 +2.24
65 Comb	517.8	503.2	512.9 +7.24

#### The American Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED NOV. 25, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Echo8 wb	871,300	6%	+ 1 1/2
PetLew	836,900	11	+ 1/2
WangB	811,300	33%	...
Telisp	701,400	5%	- 1
CoreLb	553,300	25%	+ 5 1/2
CrystO	504,600	17%	+ 2 1/2
DomeP	502,300	3%	-1/16
PetLew pf	453,000	24%	+ 1 1/2
InstSy	424,000	2%	- 1/2
PailCo	418,400	33%	+ 2 1/2

#### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	463	451
Declines	300	345
Total Issues	916	930
New Highs	46	40
New Lows	34	38

#### VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	25,360,140	1,913,977,474
Same Per. 1982	24,320,705	1,556,924,790



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## The Holiday Engine and the Neediest

Thanksgiving starts the holiday engine; it'll soon be spinning at full speed. People who promised themselves, again, that this year they'd do their shopping right after Labor Day are starting to crowd the stores. At this very moment, other provident souls may be correcting last year's mailing list for Christmas cards. Some party invitations have already gone out, and families plan to come together for festive dinners lit by the glow of candles and by prayers for peace and prosperity.

Yet there remain those for whom prayers are not enough, who face the approaching season penniless, lonely, sick. Most children can look forward to bulging stockings; some face only emptiness. As pantries are being stocked with delicacies for the end of next month, what other households may have to anticipate is that the month's food-stamp allotment will run out before Christmas. If the holiday engine is running for them at all, it's running on empty.

They may be helpless, but the rest of us are not. Their need, loneliness, hunger, pain and cold can be alleviated. Those who are jobless, homeless or

friendless — we can help them. One way to come to the side of the forgotten old and the neglected young is to join the thousands who care, and who year after year make their contributions to The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund.

The Fund, which opens its 72d appeal today, was created in 1912 as the Hundred Neediest Cases Fund. Its benefits are no longer limited to a mere 100 cases or to the holiday season. It aids thousands of people of all ages in every part of New York City all year long.

Its special distinction continues: Every dollar contributed to the Fund goes directly to the neediest via eight private social service agencies. None of the money is diverted to administrative costs or solicitation.

Donations are deductible for income tax and estate purposes. They may be made anonymously, in the name of the donor or in someone's memory. Any amount is welcome. Checks should be made payable to The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund and mailed to Post Office Box 5193, General Post Office, New York, N.Y. 10087.

## Germany, *Über Alles*

The news is about new American missiles in Europe, threats of new Soviet deployments and the Soviet walkout from negotiations to regulate this phase of the arms race.

The underlying realities are these: It will take five years for all the new NATO missiles to be put in place. . . . Any limit on Euromissiles will have to be part of a global arms compact. . . . No such pact seems possible until after America's 1984 election.

Then why all the Soviet fury? Because the Kremlin, countering a President it took to be stalling all negotiations until he could acquire more missiles, has found profit in a political counterattack against the NATO alliance. The true contest concerns not Western Europe's weapons but its adherence to the United States. Above all, the struggle is about the future of Germany.

It was a vote in West Germany's Bundestag that cleared the way for the first new American weapons and the Soviet walkout in Geneva. And it was Helmut Schmidt, idly tossing paper airplanes at his fellow Social Democrats, who symbolized the fateful turn in German politics.

Six years ago, while Chancellor, Mr. Schmidt requested the new weapons in compelling terms. Now, despairing, he abstained. Though outvoted 2 to 1, his Socialists and a new party called Greens were opposed. More, they were reinvigorating the dream that German destiny, and reunification, may be found in neutrality between East and West.

By significantly upgrading the weapons they keep aimed at Europe, the Russians had awakened much German disenchantment with NATO. What began as German fear of the new Soviet weapons had turned into fear of American bellicosity.

The Russians' new Euromissiles, the SS-20's, did not threaten the United States or Britain and France. But they did alarm many West Germans who have sworn nuclear weapons and depend for defense on NATO armies, backed by America's nuclear power. In imagining a Red Army assault, these Germans came to doubt that NATO would

ever fire its short-range nuclear weapons now that the Russians hold all European cities hostage.

So Mr. Schmidt asked for American missiles capable of striking Soviet cities, to be placed in the Red Army's path to guarantee him a nuclear shield. In 1979, NATO agreed to deploy 572 such missiles, half in Germany — unless the Russians consented to scale back to a lower balance.

As long as global arms control looked promising, so did these negotiations. But as Soviet-American relations soured, the Russians turned to exploit the cracks in NATO. And they dangled a choice before West Germans, between perpetual danger in NATO and a safe neutrality leading to some kind of reunion with East Germany.

They played that siren song at high volume last week. Though they pronounced themselves newly threatened, the Russians foresaw no difficulty protecting themselves. It was Germans they wanted to scare some more by charging that America was again maneuvering to sacrifice Europe in a global war it could thus "win."

That is, of course, a preposterous argument. The main value of the American missiles is not military but political, precisely to guarantee America's involvement, alongside its Western allies, in any European conflict.

It is also preposterous to think the Russians would soon relax their grip on East Germany if West Germany turned neutral. Even if disarmed, a rejoined Germany would become a powerful magnet drawing the rest of Eastern Europe out of the Soviet orbit. No conceivable damage to NATO could compensate the Kremlin for such a menace.

But German nationalism has been known to feast on such dreams. Now that nationalist sentiment has pushed a major party to an anti-NATO line, Germans are under pressure to judge not only the adequacy of American power but the quality of American leadership. The new struggle is not about how many warheads are finally deployed in Germany, but about how many Germans will continue to find pride and safety in alliance with America. It is a struggle for Germany, *über alles*.

## The Fact-Facsimile Film Festival

There was a moment last Sunday night when someone flipping television channels could have done an honest double take. On NBC's "Kennedy" mini-series, an actor was playing Robert McNamara in action as Secretary of Defense. On ABC, there was the real Robert McNamara in an animated debate about nuclear war. The double take was a sign of things to come.

Apart from the Euromissile crisis, television itself provided the most sustained news of the week. Was there ever a week with so many combinations of fact, facsimile and fiction? Consider the permutations:

On Sunday, ABC showed "The Day After," with actors playing out a ghastly fictional future. In the discussion afterward, real public figures, like Mr. McNamara, assessed just how factual the fiction might be.

In its "Kennedy" series on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, NBC gave us look-alike actors playing out a factual past.

On Wednesday, public television offered an hour's excerpts of J.F.K. performances at news conferences, real recordings of real occasions.

And for four nights starting Tuesday, ABC gave us "The Crisis Game," real public figures playing the parts of fictional officeholders arguing their way through a hypothetical crisis in Iran.

Perhaps the only permutation not available was an actor performing as Chief Executive, an omission that might have been corrected if President Reagan had given a news conference of his own.

The glut of history and hypothesis notwithstanding, there's surely value in all the attention to public affairs. We know a man from Denver, for instance, who said he wouldn't let his children watch

"The Day After." Because of the horror? "No. Because it's just fiction. I wanted them to watch 'Kennedy' instead. That's history. They were something like minus-six when he was killed."

The thought of docudramas as history would horrify purists who think of them as cartoon history at best, something like the old Classics Comics. Such productions may pay scrupulous attention to physical detail and employ actors who look their parts. But to the skeptical eye, the effect is, as someone said, just Madame Tussaud's waxworks in motion. Why must every actor hired to play Lyndon Johnson, whether on TV or in the movie "The Right Stuff," model his performance on a scarecrow? And the history may be tarnished, if not indeed warped.

Still, for everyone who regards this historical glass as completely empty, others find it at least half-full. It may be sugar-coated history, capsule history, they say, but it's a start, and may stimulate some viewers to turn to the books. Beyond that, there's a fact of social importance: Programs like these have become a prime transmitter of national memory. That's why parents like the man from Denver want their kids to watch "The Winds of War" or "Holocaust" or "Roots."

An annoying problem nonetheless remains, and the film festival on television last week threw it into special relief. What a welter: fictional people and fictional events, real people and fictional events, fictional people and real events. The mind may not reel, but it surely will have trouble keeping fact separate from facsimile. As they blur, the fog of impressions can taint learning and twist memory. Lyndon Johnson was no scarecrow.

## Letters

## Treasury Debt: 'When Will the Balloon Burst?'

To the Editor:

Despite the good news about the American economy's recovery from the most serious depression since the 1930's, newspapers remain full of gloomy reports about the unprecedented high levels of interest rates. Real interest rates remain well above the 2 to 3 percent per annum that history has led us to expect. Naturally, academics and Wall Street pros are called upon to explain this remarkable phenomenon to the puzzled public.

The explanations offered are not new: investors fear a resurgence of inflation, they worry about future deficits and expect "crowding out"; inflation rates are so volatile that investors demand a premium to compensate them for uncertainty; monetary policy is too tight, and, finally, the world recession has dried up petrodollar deposits and the liquidity they offered. We heard these explanations last year, we hear them again this year and they have begun to lose their credibility.

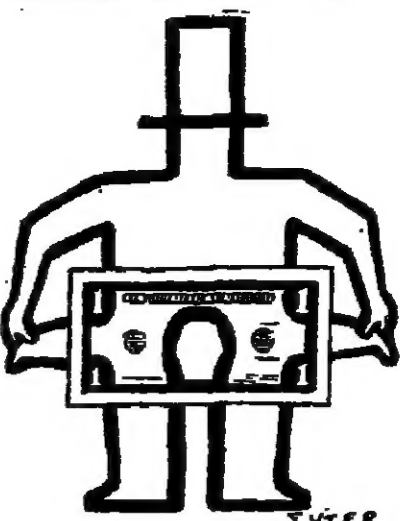
There is another, much more unpalatable, explanation for high interest rates.

Financial theorists tell us that the very definition of a risk-free asset is a Treasury bill, backed by the full faith of the U.S. Government. I suggest that the credit standing of the Treasury is not as high as it has been historically, and so the Government must compensate its creditors for the sovereign risk they bear.

Is this so very implausible? The Government does not seem capable of restraining its free spending habits and instituting fiscal discipline. The

unified budget deficit is running at around \$200 billion, which is 6.5 percent of gross domestic product.

That is not all. The U.S. has developed the naughty habit of off-budget financing. Government agencies



issue loan guarantees for foreign military sales or clients of the Farmers Home Administration or the Tennessee Valley Authority, and these loan guarantees are converted into direct loans through Federal Financing Bank financing. That bank is a unit of the Treasury and is surprisingly little known except to bond traders. The present Administration has been running an extra \$30-billion-a-year fiscal deficit through this neat mechanism.

Now we can see that the total budget deficit is really \$230 billion, about 7 1/2 percent of G.D.P. Is the U.S. immune to the problems that have

beset other sovereign borrowers? Is there something special about this country that makes it default-proof? Obviously, the U.S. is more stable than Brazil, but the only assurance of repayment the Treasury can give is that it will continue to borrow more.

Just three years ago, people said Brazil, Argentina and Chile could never get into trouble because they could always roll over their loans. People say the same about the U.S. now and declare it quite different from the South Americans. But the only reason that investors continue to accept the paper of the U.S. is the belief that they can get out before the balloon bursts. And investors demand a risk premium for this kind of speculation. Just as they did in Brazil, in Argentina and in Chile.

When will the balloon burst? Probably at the same time the dollar balloon bursts. With the fundamental variables so far out of kilter, the time cannot be far off.

There will be many who will object to this comparison between Brazil and the United States. The sad irony is that, if only the U.S. were not the U.S., the International Monetary Fund could come in and do what has to be done.

SHINJITSU NOME  
New Haven, Nov. 16, 1983

## 'Maligned' Deficits

To the Editor:

Government deficits are not like private deficits because the Government can borrow all it needs and can also create money. So the Government need not worry about deficits as you and I do. Nevertheless, present as well as prospective Government deficits are maligned and abhorred by just about everyone — journalists, TV commentators, politicians and even some economists.

But a study of economics does not support this view. In fact, there is no economic reason why anyone should worry about the current or future Federal budget deficit per se; it should be of no special interest to anyone except perhaps an economist.

Pressure to eliminate or reduce the present or prospective deficit should be of concern, however, for such a policy is misguided and could generate another recession.

This much is obvious to any economist, yet the national obsession with the deficit is so intense that I am afraid many of my economist colleagues have become discouraged or even cowed and have given up trying to communicate with the public on this matter.

As a result, false ideas flourish unchallenged. For example, it is repeatedly asserted that deficits and prospective deficits push up interest rates or cause inflation. Not true. There is no economic analysis that relates the deficit systematically with interest rates or the inflation rate. Has not recent history borne this out?

I urge more of my colleagues to speak out and to articulate to the public what they write in the economics journals and teach in the classrooms.

ARTHUR BENAVIE  
Professor of Economics  
University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill, N.C., Nov. 21, 1983

## U.S.-Soviet Differences Can Be Bridged

To the Editor:

The U.S.-Soviet arms race is the result of U.S.-Soviet differences. Apart from mutual annihilation, the only sure way to stop the race is to settle those differences. Nuclear stalemate may avert "The Day After," but the risk is high.

To find out whether these differences can be settled, they have to be examined. That's not now being done; it's being taken for granted that they're beyond being resolved.

The differences are economic and political. U.S. economic policy aims by and large at full and efficient use of resources, maximum output and equitable income distribution, recognizing that maximum output depends in part on the incentives associated with income disparity.

The Soviet Union's aims aren't that far off. Its doctrine of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is seen as inconsistent with maximum output, and is less and less being observed. There is less and less centralized planning and rejection of the market economy. Means of output are almost all state-owned, but there has been movement away from this, while in the free world there has long been some movement toward state-owned activity.

The arena for U.S.-Soviet differences in the economic sphere is the third world. Soviet economic aims don't find much reflection there. U.S. aims don't either, and the U.S. has come to appreciate the need for third-world economic reform.

A current case in point is Central America. It's conceivable that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could press for third-world economic reform in a spirit of cooperative compromise, not of conflict, with its potential for triggering nuclear conflict. In the economic sphere, U.S.-Soviet differences seem reconcilable.

In the political sphere, the question is why the Soviets are for democratic rule and tightly limited individual liberty. They appear to consider this basic to their economic aims in a broadly hostile world. It would not be basic in a cooperative world.

Far-fetched as it may seem, grounds for settling U.S.-Soviet differences exist. Grounds for ideological détente exist. Without it there can be no lasting political détente. Peace could at best be precarious, not to mention costly, as measured by the half-trillion dollars that Washington and Moscow spend each year on arms.

It is not enough for the United States and the Soviet Union to discuss arms reduction. They have to start to discuss their ideological disagreement. The process could hardly make matters worse than they are now. It could make them vastly better.

SAUL R. SROLE  
Silver Spring, Md., Nov. 21, 1983

## Attacks Immune To Space Defenses

To the Editor:

Your Nov. 15 news story regarding development of X-ray lasers raises again the question of how effective a "space defense" might be against possible nuclear attack. In this connection, I wish to point out that thermonuclear bombs of megaton power are astonishingly small. They can be carried in the trunk of a car, or assembled by a skilled person from component units transported in a few suitcases or backpacks.

In view of the thousands of miles of U.S. and Soviet frontier or coastline, such devices may readily be smuggled into either country, placed at strategic locations (the radius of damage is large) and detonated at will by simple means. Such a threat has occasionally been discussed in connection with the problem of proliferation and possible terrorist action, but this scenario is not restricted to terrorists.

No more than 30 one-megaton bombs would cause totally paralyzing casualty levels in either the U.S. or the Soviet Union, at the trivial cost of under \$100 million. Thus, to the many cogent technical arguments against space defenses, one must add the simple fact — glaringly obvious but nevertheless overlooked — that nuclear warheads can be delivered by techniques wholly immune to space defenses of any type. We and the Soviets are indeed hostage to each other.

HENRY LINSCHITZ  
Rubinstein Professor of Chemistry  
Brandeis University  
Waltham, Mass., Nov. 17, 1983

## Shortcut to Tax Saving

To the Editor:

The report of fictitious trades in Treasury securities ("U.S. Charges 5 in Plot to Fake Tax Deductions," news story Nov. 23) should come as no great surprise. It was inevitable that someone would skip the subterfuge and go directly to the deduction. The alleged crime points to the need for tax reform that eliminates transactions with no social or economic basis other than tax avoidance.

HAROLD MANDLER  
Oradell, N.J., Nov. 23, 1983

## Alcohol's Proven Danger to the Fetus

To the Editor:

A warning posted in bars, restaurants and liquor stores that "Drinking alcoholic beverages during pregnancy can cause birth defects" is described in a Nov. 13 letter from two editors of Women's Rights Law Reporter as "discriminatory."

Although we have no policy about posting notices, the National Council on Alcoholism has gathered such impressive documentation on the sometimes tragic and irreversible damage that can be inflicted upon the fetus through alcohol consumed by the pregnant female that the value of warning women seems to outweigh any possible discomfort that these notices might produce.

The writers refer to chromosomal abnormalities associated with alcoholism, stating that paternal usage and other experiences may also affect the fetus. But neither genetic research nor investigations associating male drinking with fetal damage has established that, while fetal alcohol syndrome (F.A.S.) and fetal alcohol effects (F.A.E.) have been established.

So the warning, directed only to females and at a site where alcohol is purchased, is really no more "discriminatory" than a brasserie ad.

NANCY BRACE  
Executive Director, National Council on Alcoholism, North Jersey Area  
Montclair, N.J., Nov. 17, 1983

## Questions About a Call From Air Force One

To the Editor:

I hasten to nominate the story headed "Congratulating Mother," which appeared on your Washington Talk page on Nov. 11, as the Briefing Item of the Year. I found it fascinating, however incomplete.

I refer to President Reagan's phone call, from aboard Air Force One, to Dorothy Bush, the 82-year-old mother of Vice President Bush, congratulating her on the fact that her son had cast a tie-breaking vote in the Senate so that legislation to provide funds for nerve gas weapons could be approved.

I feel that The Times was remiss in not reporting whether Mrs. Bush had ever before received a congratulatory phone call from Mr. Reagan (when, for instance, her son became Vice President of the United States); what Mrs. Bush's position is on the use of nerve gas weapons, and how much influence, if any, she may have had on the Vice President's decision to vote as he did.

It would be edifying to have the answers, particularly to the last question. After all, it is not an everyday occurrence for as exotic a subject as military nerve gas to pop up as a possible threat to parent-child harmony in a prominent family, or become the subject of a Presidential phone call from aboard Air Force One.

CHARLES COHEN  
Valley Stream, L.I. Nov. 12, 1983

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# Choices on Salvador

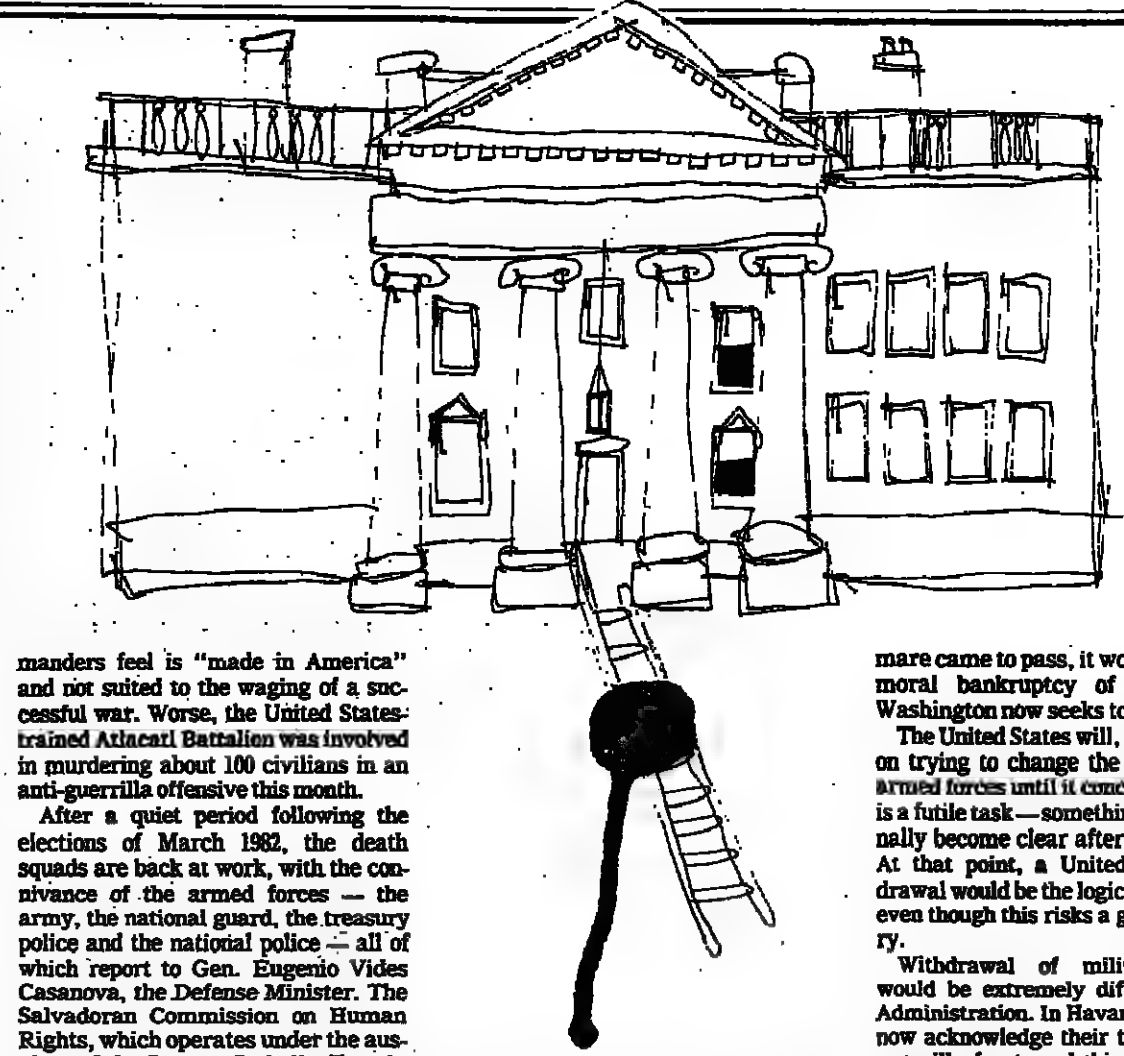
By James Chace

The United States faces two stark choices in El Salvador. It should try first to persuade the armed forces to discipline officers involved in the assassination squads that have killed thousands of civilians over the past three years. Should it fail to do so, it must withdraw military and economic aid, even if this means carnage on the right or a victory by the left.

Thus far, United States strategy has been to pursue the first course, even though the results have been profoundly discouraging. To "professionalize" the army, as Washington calls it, means changing the nature of the officer corps, whose links to the intrinsically right wing are stronger than ever. One way of doing this, United States advisers believe, is to train, at Fort Benning, Ga., many new cadets, who will become junior officers in the new, enlarged Salvadoran Army. But even if those new officers become committed to reforming the army and suppressing right-wing violence, it will take years for their influence to be felt. Limited in number and handicapped by their low ranks, they will face the intolerance of older officers and are unlikely to turn against their superiors.

Like the South Vietnamese regime, the Salvadoran Government must win not only the battle against the guerrillas but also the "hearts and minds" of the people. To this end, the United States has until recently tried to persuade the Salvadoran Army that it should rehabilitate the provinces in which it has been fighting. By repairing roads, opening schools and improving health care, the army would demonstrate its concern for the population. In fact, however, few soldiers have been made available for a plan that many Salvadorans com-

James Chace recently traveled to Central America as managing editor of Foreign Affairs. This article is adapted from a longer essay in the current issue of The New York Review of Books.



Mark Podwal

manders feel is "made in America" and not suited to the waging of a successful war. Worse, the United States-trained Atlacatl Battalion was involved in murdering about 100 civilians in an anti-guerrilla offensive this month.

After a quiet period following the elections of March 1982, the death squads are back at work, with the connivance of the armed forces — the army, the national guard, the treasury police and the national police — all of which report to Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova, the Defense Minister. The Salvadoran Commission on Human Rights, which operates under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, claims that 2,700 people were killed by such groups during the first six months of 1983. Even our embassy has openly abandoned the idea that there is any clear distinction between the higher military command and the death squads.

The army is moving to the right, as United States diplomats admit. Even the possibility that José Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democrats' nominee, could win an election is thought to be enough to provoke a coup. In this atmosphere, most of the Salvadorans I spoke with believe that the candidate of the right will be elected the next president.

It also seems unlikely that any candidate sponsored by the right will be able to crack down on the terror. Elections, without the participation of the left, may be free. But they may also produce an outcome that Washington will find unacceptable, as happened in the last

election when a right-wing coalition tried to put in its own man and Washington was forced to intervene. The right understands this, but prefers to believe that the Reagan Administration's commitment to prevent a Marxist takeover is so great that it will never abandon the army — and the army will never abandon the right.

Washington must make it absolutely clear to the Salvadoran Government that we will pull out of the country if the killing of civilians is not stopped. Several Salvadorans I talked with made a chilling argument against such an ultimatum: The army, left to itself, might well reenact the massacres of 1932, in which up to 30,000 peasants who were thought to have been involved in uprisings against the oligarchs were slaughtered. This may be a fantasy intended precisely to forestall an ultimatum. But certainly, if such a night-

mare came to pass, it would prove the moral bankruptcy of the regime Washington now seeks to salvage.

The United States will, and should, go on trying to change the nature of the armed forces until it concludes that this is a futile task — something that may finally become clear after the elections. At that point, a United States withdrawal would be the logical alternative, even though this risks a guerrilla victory.

Withdrawal of military support would be extremely difficult for any Administration. In Havana, the Cubans now acknowledge their tutelage of the guerrilla front, and this should be expected to continue. Notwithstanding the claims by the guerrillas' political spokesmen that they seek a democratic solution and will need good relations with the United States, no one can be confident of what would follow a takeover by the guerrillas. The result might well be as bloody and repressive as the situation is today. Washington could make it clear in advance that any installation of Soviet bases or missiles would not be tolerated, should the Russians be foolish enough to attempt this.

The argument will be made that withdrawal, even from a country where our allies are murdering civilians and are ineffectual in dealing with the enemy, will bring United States "credibility" into question. Therefore the war must go on. But it is highly doubtful that the people of the United States will support a war without any foreseeable end.

Before he was named to head a commission to suggest long-term policies for dealing with Central America, Henry A. Kissinger declared that, "If we cannot manage Central America, it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium." He could have added that it will also be hard to convince our allies in Europe and Japan that we are acting responsibly — and, hence, with "credibility" — if we do not understand when to drop a strategy that has outlived whatever promise it once had.

# WASHINGTON 'To All Ye Pilgrims'

By James Reston

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, Mass., Nov. 26 — After 48 years of wedded bliss — one wife, three sons and three grandchildren — I've finally come up with a better way to spend Thanksgiving.

The old Currier and Ives way, as recommended by Lydia Maria Child, is well known: "Over the river and through the wood to grandfather's house we go. The horse knows the way to carry the sleigh through the white and drifted snow."

There are several things wrong with this picture. Why grandfather's house? Why no mention of granny? This is because in those sexist days, the old man probably made a 50-50 deal with his wife: He'd take care of the drinks personally, and give her equal time to cook the meal, wash the dishes and tidy up the house after the kids were gone.

Our better idea — actually it was my wife's — was that this romantic rubbish should have gone out with the horse and sleigh, and that after 40 years of dirty dishes, it was the children's turn to get things ready and clean things up.

We would go, we said, to New England — specifically to Edgartown, here on Martha's Vineyard — say howdy to Martha and, before the first, read Gov. William Bradford's first Thanksgiving proclamation of Nov. 23, 1623, as published annually in The Vineyard Gazette.

"To all ye Pilgrims: Inasmuch as the Great Father has given us this year an abundant harvest of Indian corn, wheat, beans, squashes and garden vegetables, and has made the forest to abound in game and the sea with fish and clams . . . now, I, your magistrate, do proclaim that all ye Pilgrims with your wives and little ones do gather at ye meeting house on ye Hill, there to render thanksgiving."

But meanwhile, since there were a lot of rivers and woods to cross between the capital of the United States and this island, I made a generous Scotch deal with my neighbors for sort of a cooperative Thanksgiving Day, as follows:

I would make the corn pudding (Governor Bradford would have loved it!). My wife, Sally, would produce the creamed onions. Our neighbors in Washington, the Frank Ikards, would go ahead and open their house and prepare the turkey and fixin's. And another neighbor, the Jebb Halabys, would furnish the airplane. In short, an equal sharing of the burden.

So Mr. Halaby, who flew the plane,

with his wife, Allison, as co-pilot at his side and in charge of the weather, touched us down in golden twilight on the Vineyard, and we came into town and found that our son Richard had done as he was told — not only tidied up the house, but even Easy-Off'd the stove.

Governor Bradford would have been proud of the way Edgartown looked. The old whaling houses were shuttered, but gleaming with pride. The busy streets of summer were deserted, and if suddenly you saw the faithful Jon with his taxi in the distance and hailed it, you felt that maybe by magic it would simply have vanished in the gathering fog.

So we sat down to Thanksgiving dinner, looking out on the channel to Chappaquiddick, where Ted Kennedy swam for his life, and began with Robbie Burns's Selkirk blessing, as amended:

"Some hae meat that canna eat, and some hae none that want it. But we hae meat and we can eat, so let the Lord be thankit."

We had our old buddies, the Cronkites, at our side, and the Attorney General of the United States, William French Smith, to settle any disputes that might arise — just the 12 of us — but no disputes arose. We didn't talk about the Old Men in Moscow and Washington, fussing with one another about missiles and warning about the war young men would have to fight, or even about the mysterious development of putting trucks filled with sand around the White House and the State Department.

Instead, we went around the table and talked about why we were thankful, and we all came back to our children and our friends and our freedom to talk to one another honestly about the things that divide us, and we wondered why we didn't do it more often.

So we went happily out into the lonely streets, with a howling wind coming up, and drifted home to a clean kitchen and flannel sheets. And the only sad part of this story is that the Ikards were left with the dirty dishes.

The moral of this tale should be fairly clear: (1) After 40 years, don't go to grandfather's house through the woods and the snow. (2) Rescue granny from the kitchen. (3) Go by all means to some lovely, lonely village in New England for Thanksgiving, and have a kindly neighbor with an airplane to get you there and bring you back home.

# 'Angel Dusting' Grizzlies

By Peggy Lucas Bond

BOZEMAN, Mont. — Last summer, a grizzly bear dragged a young man from his tent at Hebgen Lake near Yellowstone National Park, killed and ate him. Wildlife biologists, who knew this bear to be a particularly peaceful animal, were at first at a loss to explain the attack. Then it was discovered that the bear had been sedated at least 11 times with Sernylan, which is the trade name for phenylcyclidine — or, in drug slang, "P.C.P." or "Angel Dust," and which is known to produce violent and unpredictable behavior in humans.

Typically, grizzly bears are solitary creatures, preferring to avoid all contact with humans. They are omnivorous and, since the development and logging of much of their habitat, have become garbage junkies.

In recent years, open-pit garbage dumps have been closed in or near grizzly habitat, and the bears have been forced into a "rehabilitation" program of redeveloping a taste for native foods and the savvy to find them. In the meantime, they frequently return to developed areas, where they are captured, tranquilized and then relocated deep in the back country. The process can be repeated regularly with "problem bears" that keep returning to garbage dumps.

Phenylcyclidine is a mind-altering drug that acts as a depressant on the

central nervous system. By now, the newspapers have familiarized us with the frequently violent human reactions to this unpredictable drug. At times, it induces calm and euphoric feelings along with vivid hallucinations. But at other times, without warning, it fills users, or abusers, with irrational feelings of power, causing them to attack people of obviously superior strength, or to break their own bones while attempting such things as overturning cars or smashing brick walls. Angel dust has even been blamed for homicidal behavior.

In a 1978 study, the National Institute of Drug Abuse found that phenylcyclidine can induce "a psychotic state that is difficult to distinguish from schizophrenia. Many powerful alterations of perception and thought occur, including changes in body image, feelings of isolation and dependency, and a general slowing of mental pro-

cesses." The Journal of the American Medical Association reports that the drug can produce permanent brain damage in humans. In his 1982 book "Drugs and Behavior," Fred Leavitt of California State University at Hayward wrote that phenylcyclidine is one of only two drugs that have been clearly shown to increase violence in humans.

The drug is also known to produce delayed reactions — or flashbacks — hours, weeks or even months after the effects seem to have worn off. In these episodes, users will suddenly feel threatened, and will lash out at the supposed threat with the same illusory feelings of omnipotence as when they were under the drug's influence.

Is the use of phenylcyclidine causing the grizzly bear to become a greater danger to itself and the American people? Most wildlife biologists discount the drug's mind-altering impact on grizzlies and have ruled it out as a factor in this summer's killing. But there has been no research on the effects of repeated doses of the drug on either grizzly bears or the many other mammals on which it is used. Certainly, the harmful effects of phenylcyclidine on humans are reason enough to curtail its use until biologists can prove that they are not creating a new breed of brain-damaged, erratic and highly dangerous grizzly bears, and contributing to the extinction of the finest symbol of America's wilderness spirit.

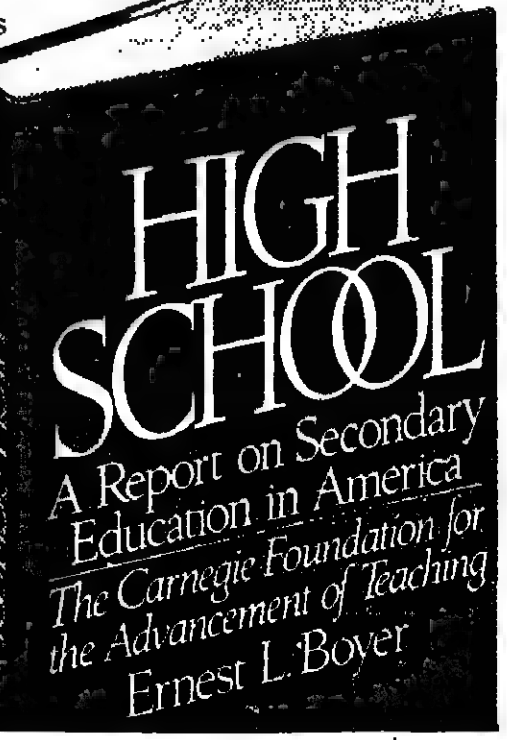
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## ESSAY

# Thou Shalt Not . . .

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26 — As the leaders of the U.S. and Israel meet this week to celebrate the return of the special relationship, here are ten precepts to chisel on a couple of tablets:

**Thou Shalt Have No Middle East Allies Before Me.** Mr. Reagan's misbegotten experiment with "evenhandedness" has failed; Arab monarchs and dictators take such middlemanism to mean Israel has no reliable ally and can be beaten. Israel needs an ally, not a broker; the U.S. needs a rock-solid ally with the capacity to deliver help, not a worried friend amid a sea of arms-grubbing undependables.

**Remember the Concept of Deterrence, and Keep It Central.** America's object is not to get Israel to attack Syria, but to induce Syria to leave Lebanon. Since the only pressure that works on Syria is fear of Israel, the U.S. must increase that fear by building Israeli strength.

**Thou Shalt Spring No More Unnecessary Surprises.** Israel should develop procedures for "nonconsultative prenotification," enabling it to act without involving the U.S. but not stunning the U.S., as in Jerusalem's policy to prevent development of the Islamic bomb. The U.S. should avoid selling Awacs to states unwilling to make peace, enhancing Saudi F-15's to endanger Israel's cities or conspiring secretly with King Hussein to smother the space Israel needs for defense on its side of the Jordan River.

**Thou Shalt Get Thine Act Together.** Despite the Presidential policy laid down this month in what Bernard Gwertzman revealed to be National Security Decision Document 111, Secretary of Defense Weinberger seeks to nibble it to death. The purpose of NSDD 111 is not to purchase Israeli help for police duties with a few extra billions for aircraft; the purpose is to assure our only democratic ally in the area that Mr. Weinberger's failed pro-Arab policy has been superseded.

**Thou Shalt Not Ask Thine Ally To Act Against His Interests.** Israel should not restrain the U.S. from helping Iraq make war on Iran. The U.S. should not expect Israel to support, or even quietly acquiesce in, a Vapid Employment Force under Jordan's King Hussein. For the U.S. to expect the Middle East's most cautious monarch to send a new Arab Legion wherever we want in a crisis carries wishful thinking to the point of self-delusion.

**Thou Shalt Put Thine Economic House in Order.** Israel should learn from its ally's experience that only a recession can cure rampant inflation. Israelis must abandon the luxury of indexation, accept unemployment even if it means emigration, cut welfare spending and grimly embrace austerity; if not, no outside aid can shore up its debilitation and erosion of national gumption. Bullets are for biting as well as shooting.

**Thou Shalt Fashion the Retaliation to Fit the Crime.** The slaughter of 239 U.S. marines on peacekeeping duty by Syria's agents is a provocation that American self-respect cannot permit to go unavenged. Israel and France have retaliated for their own losses with air strikes against specific targets, but the U.S. response

must be worthy of a superpower. Rather than bomb a site that would kill a few hundred terrorists, we must cause real strategic pain to the perpetrators with a reaction opposite to their intent: We must equip the nation the marines' murderers most fear with the most advanced missiles and aircraft, share intelligence data, organize joint maneuvers and publicly express our political solidarity with Israel. That would be significant rather than symbolic retaliation.

**Thou Shalt Not Venerate the Icons of Error.** For too long, doves in America and Israel have sold the illusion that Middle East tension would be resolved with the creation of a Palestinian state on Israel's ancient land. Now we have seen again how savagely Arab dictators treat Palestinians, how they use Arab innocents as pawns in the war to destroy Israel, how they deny Palestinian human rights everywhere. Now we see the answer is not segregation under terrorists, but autonomy in the West Bank and dignity in Arab lands, which must be pressed into offering hospitality and assimilation.

**Honor Thy Commitments.** Israel has lived up to the Camp David accords by returning the Sinai to Egypt; the U.S. then scrapped the accords by trying to impose a deal on the West Bank, and has failed to induce Egypt to keep its word on diplomatic and trade relations. Israel agreed at U.S. urging to withdraw from Lebanon; the U.S. should enforce rather than seek to vitiate that agreement. Unless old treaties are treated with respect, new treaty-making will be viewed with contempt.

**Thou Shalt Not Project False Images.** At least one and perhaps both nations face elections next year. Any American or Israeli leader who takes fidelity to an alliance for temporary public-opinion advantage will bring down the wrath of the voters of two democracies.



# Hepburn's Comedy About Death

By PETER W. KAPLAN

Katharine Hepburn, watching the shooting on her latest film, "The Ultimate Solution of Grace Quigley," was sitting in the rear hall, the coffin compartment, of a long hearse near the Harlem River at 127th Street. She sat, as she has been photographed sitting for the 50 years of movie stardom, in a kind of boyish squat, hugging her knees, her feet tucked under her. She wore tan trousers, a blue shirt buttoned to her neck, a red scarf, and a beat-up coat. And she was impatient.

"Are they going to drive this thing into the river or not?" she asked, hopping into a standing position and putting her fists on her hips. "Well, here I am, here I am just waiting, while everyone else is working. I'm what is known as the adorable old goat, charming everybody"—and here she fluttered her eyelashes and grinned an ingenu smile—"while we wait to see this car driven into the ri-vah." She turned around. "I'm dying to drive in myself. I am."

Miss Hepburn has been trying to get this picture made for 11 years—the grim-comic tale of a tired and unhappy old lady who hires a hit man, played in the film by Nick Nolte, to end her life for her, and finds an entire community of senior citizens who strive for the same end she does. "You know how I got the script, don't you?" she said. "I was living on George Cukor's property, and this script just came thrown over the fence one day. 'What,' I asked, is that?' But no one wanted to make it. It was dark comedy. Too dark."

Nevertheless, with the script writer, Martin Zweiback, she kept going for over a decade to studio after studio through several proposed co-stars, through deals with various production groups and with Columbia Pictures, until finally, last year, Cannon Pictures—run by Israel's Menahem Golan and Yehuda Globus, gave it the go-ahead.

"Tony!" Miss Hepburn called, for her director, Anthony Harvey, who was not to be seen. "When are they going to drive that hearse into the river?"

Anthony Harvey appeared, a middle-aged Englishman, ruddy and robust, balding and with a brown and gray moustache. He had directed her and Peter O'Toole in the movie for which she got her third Oscar, "The Lion in Winter," in 1968, and in the television version of "The Glass Menagerie."

"Right now, Kate," he said, and pointed her toward a high studio chair set up for her in a regal position from



Miss Hepburn and Nick Nolte in a scene from "The Ultimate Solution of Grace Quigley." "This is a true black comedy," says the director, Anthony Harvey.

which she could watch the hearse soar off a platform and into the water. "So brave," she said, "so daring. I'd like to do it myself. Except. Well, the idea of sinking in something. No." She poised herself on the high director's chair, posture and bearing recognizable even to the passing Circle Line boats from which people waved and to which, with a gay regality, she waved back.

Several yards behind her, her co-star in the movie, Nick Nolte, sat, red and worn from a bad cold, also waiting. Her friend and secretary, Phyllis Wilbourn, sat next to her; Miss Wilbourn had once worked for Miss Hepburn's late close friend, the actress Constance Collier, and she was in the car Miss Hepburn had been driving in 1982 when she crashed into a pole, injuring both women severely. "I almost lost my foot," said Miss Hepburn. "Stupid. Stupid. My entire life I've taken good care of myself, of my body, and then this. They told me I was going to lose the foot, but I didn't, and I didn't have to give up my exercise, which I love. I'm so grateful. I'm lucky. I've kept myself in very good trim, and here I am and I'm still working, you see, and that's why I wanted to do this movie so much."

Both Miss Hepburn and Mr. Harvey claim that what "The Ultimate Solution of Grace Quigley" reaches for is black comedy, of the kind that the British comedies of the 1950's like "The Lady Killers" and "Kind

Hearts and Coronets" reached at their lugubriously hilarious heights. "It's all attitude and believability," said Mr. Harvey. "The moment you think this thing is funny, and you're playing it for laughs, you're lost. Nobody has better timing than Kate, but most of all she believes in what she's doing, and that makes it work."

"I have seen this kind of thing happen," said Miss Hepburn, "have you? Have you been inside any of those places where they put old people, where there are too many, and there are not enough beds, and when the call for help goes out, nobody comes? Well, I have. And that's why I wanted to do this movie. Because not only is it funny, but I think it's terribly important. And I think, I just think when the body goes, or the mind goes, and it's time to say good-bye, why shouldn't you? I mean what's the point of a useless life? A life that just goes on and on, sad and without purpose or pleasure? I was brought up in a medical family, you know. My father was a doctor, and my brother is one. But at a certain point, what's the use? If you're brilliant but you can't move around and they start to drug your head off, what's the use? And if you can't move at all, and you have nothing to do—will they take away your right to choose?"

"The two things that keep you going are love, love and work, being occupied. And if you're in no condition to work, and you can't read any-

more, well, that's it. What's the point, I have no fears about it."

"I had run into a friend in an elevator in California in 1972," said Martin Zweiback, the screenwriter. "And he knew where Miss Hepburn was living. The drop was made, we threw my treatment over the fence, and when we got back to my house later, there were five, maybe six messages on my machine from Kate. She took the script around as if it were her own, drove it to Steve McQueen's beachhouse personally, called people. You wouldn't know it but Katherine Hepburn is a very shy person but she did this for my script. And studio after studio turned it down. None of them wanted to do the picture without a second big star who was bankable. Subject matter. Old age and death, these were not what they were looking for."

A few years later, when Miss Hepburn called Nick Nolte after she had seen some scenes from his television mini-series, "Rich Man, Poor Man," and had gotten him interested, the project still didn't sail. "He wasn't bankable either then," said Zweiback, and it wasn't until we brought it to Cannon Films that we got going. She just wanted to do this thing so much—I think it meant as much to her as it did to me—that she never let it go. She told me it was the best thing

she had read since "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner." It's a grim comedy, but she believes in it."

She brought in Anthony Harvey, and took a hand in the casting herself, recruiting Elizabeth Wilson, whom she'd seen in "You Can't Take It With You" and "Uncle Vanya" and the veteran screen actor Walter Abel. The filming took place all over the city, in Queens and Midtown Manhattan and Harlem. "I didn't allow her to wear pants," said Ruth Morley, the costume designer who also did "Annie Hall" and "Tootsie." "I had to make Katharine Hepburn seem like a washed out, down, seedy old lady. It was one of the hardest things I've ever done."

"This is a true black comedy," said Anthony Harvey, "and for that, for the kind of Boulting Brothers black comedy I love, you need complete believability. I edited 'Lolita' and 'Dr. Strangelove' for Stanley Kubrick, and it was great training for this—Peter Sellers gave them a kind of complete believability, and that's what Kate and Nick give to this. Kate has, as you know, her own ideas about how to do what she does, but she's a professional. A complete professional. The first time I met her, I gave her a bunch of roses, and I thought they were a terribly lovely bunch."

A few days later, I saw her and she said to me, 'What awful roses!' Apparently they had wires in them, and it offended her. She said to me, 'Don't try and be friends, because you're a director, and I'm an actor. Let's keep that distance.' It was wonderful advice and we've never strayed from it."

"But last year I was in a terrible accident in California, and the first thing I heard when I came to was Kate's voice as the nurse was shooting her out of my hospital room. I can still hear her voice calling back to me, 'Don't take any pain killers! Don't take any pain killers! It's money in the bank!' And that was Kate. That was her kind of advice. Feel the pain and recuperate faster. I followed it."

"We are trying here to view death with humor in this picture," Miss Hepburn said. "I've had certain things happen to me that I was unable to view with a sense of humor at first, but I've struggled to, and I've discovered that the remarkable people I've known just seem to have that knack of being able to see things with a sense

of humor. No matter what they are. It's part of our age. I think we're finally at a point where we've learned to see death with a sense of humor. I have to. When you're my age, it's like you're a car, and first a tire blows, and you get that fixed, and then a headlight goes, and you get that fixed. And then one day, you drive into a shop, and the man says, 'Sorry, Miss, they don't have this make any more.'"

She sat and watched as the gears and pulleys began to turn, dragging the wrecked dripping black hearse out of the slapping water of the Harlem River. The front of the car had been smashed by the dive and the sides battered. She took off her sunglasses and let her face take the sun, her fine taut skin reflecting the low autumn rays that suffused her and everyone around her in orange light. "Death does not horrify me," she said. "And you can say, 'Well, why should I, Miss Hepburn? You've had a goddam lucky life. I've been the luckiest of human beings. The luckiest. I'm grateful for that. If I had lost that foot, I wouldn't roar and groan. As long as I have places I love to go, Central Park, or a wonderful job, doing something, offering something, I'm grateful. And, I'm—look!'"

The hearse, hauled back, drenched and battered, drooling water from its four wheels, was hanging vertically from a chain.

"Well, they've gotten it out," she said happily. "Bravo! I'm sorry I couldn't have gone in and got it myself. I am! But it's out, and that's my day." Katharine Hepburn, the last of her make, the only of her make, walked fast toward a brown Ford sedan, got in, opened her script and sat next to an open window. A man, walking by, spotted her, walked up and stuck his head close to the window.

"I loved you and Bogey in 'The African Queen,'" he said. "You played the Queen, right?"

Katharine Hepburn smiled, said thank you, did not correct the man, and closed the window. The man smiled at her. He looked up and said to anybody around him who would listen, "the Queen."

Nobody disagreed.

Peter Kaplan has written extensively about television and film.

## The Drawbacks of Celebrity

By VINCENT CANBY

"You look familiar," the cab driver said, turning around to speak to his fare, a woman who, by chance, has written some of the greatest words ever heard spoken from the American stage and screen. "Should I know you?" The woman, who later admitted to feeling some pleasure at the question, told the fellow her name. There was a moment's silence. Then, "I never heard of you." End of conversation.

We live in the age of celebrity, something that television, more than any tool of our society, has made gloriously, crazily, instantaneously possible. Men who sell fur coats are celebrities. So are cats who, by laboratory trickery, appear to chacha. It doesn't make any great difference what one can do or, indeed, if one can do anything, as long as one has a familiar face or, better still, a "name," that is, a name that's immediately recognized by people who don't have one.

This curious state of affairs has recently provided the subtext for an increasing number of movies of far more than routine interest, including Philip Kaufman's "Right Stuff," Bob Fosse's "Star 80," Martin Scorsese's "King of Comedy," Woody Allen's "Zelig" and "Stardust Memories" and, bear with me, even Barbra Streisand's "Yentl."

Should the planet survive, Andy Warhol's greatest contribution to an understanding of American culture in the second half of the 20th century may turn out to be not his paintings—does anyone really know what the life span of acrylic paint is going to be anyway?—but his laconic observation that eventually everybody will be famous for 15 minutes. It sometimes seems that this Golden Age of universal People magazine-hood has already arrived.

Our gossip columnists, responding to our insatiable curiosity, not only make celebrities out of the spouses of the famous, but out of people who perform services for them as hairdressers, interior decorators, paid companions and dressmakers. Wives, husbands, children and in-laws of the legitimately famous or notorious cannot be denied their own bit of reflected celebrity. The awful truth is that today it's increasingly easy to acquire fame. In the 1920's and 30's it was necessary to do something, which could be almost anything—fly an ocean, abscond with millions of dollars, murder your lover's husband/wife, preferably in some manner that couldn't be described in a

family newspaper, sit on a flagpole, swim the English Channel, write "Gone With the Wind," eat goldfish, be responsible for a multiple birth or, like Halle Selassie, get yourself invaded.

Today it's perfectly legitimate to acquire fame through the most direct route possible, that is, by self-advertising. Would any of us have any idea of who they were if their own radio and television advertisements had not made us aware of Tom Carvel, Frank Perdue and any number of other people hawking their stocks and bonds, jewelry store items, carpets, wines and free salad bars in restaurants?

Prescient as always, Ruth Gordon and Garson Kanin sent up this particular kind of self-promotion in their

**'It seems Americans don't want to see celebrity kidded too mercilessly.'**

classic 1954 comedy, "It Should Happen to You," in which Judy Holliday, under the direction of George Cukor, played a young woman named Gladys Glover whose fondest wish was to be well known.

Gladys Glover possessed no particular talent for anything. She just wanted everyone to know that she was alive and available and on this planet. Because she couldn't carve her initials on the Sphinx, like one of Napoleon's homesick soldiers in Egypt, she did what to her seemed the next best thing. She rented a Columbus Circle billboard and had her named emblazoned on it. Wren, the strident heroine of Susan Seidelman's witty "Smithereens," is a Gladys Glover figure for the 80's.

Fame once was something that automatically followed accomplishment, whether in the arts, politics, sciences or in one of the more notorious antisocial activities. In recent decades fame has become an ephemeral end in itself, something that, I suspect, very few people would be able to resist were the possibility of fame presented to them.

No matter that fame would cost one the loss of privacy, the freedom to fail in obscurity, the opportunity to behave at something less than one's full

capacity—all that is a small price to pay for recognition. This is possibly because we have come to equate such recognition as an accomplishment in itself, and with more than 200,000,000 people walking anonymously around this nation, there may be something in that. If there is no heavenly book—up there—with all of our names written in it, we might as well scheme to get them written in one fashion or another down here.

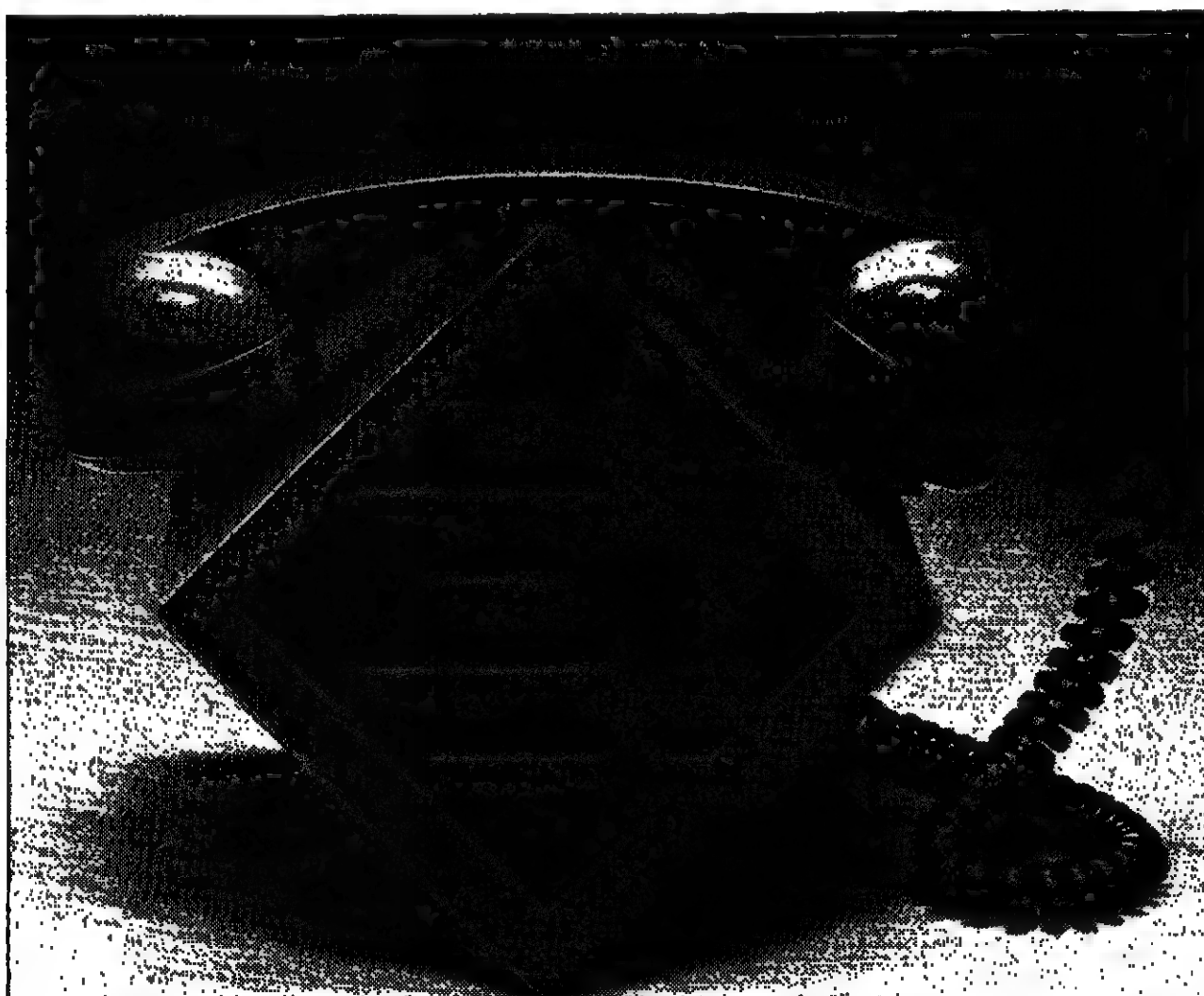
The paltry nature of fame and, by inference, of the society that makes such fame desirable is the true substance of "Star 80." Mr. Fosse's glittery, almost breathless melodrama based on the life and death of the unfortunate Dorothy Stratten, the pretty, naive, possibly talented Vancouver, B.C., model who achieved what is apparently the goal of millions of pretty, naive, possibly talented young women by becoming a Playboy magazine Playmate of the Year, only to be brutally murdered by her estranged husband.

"Star 80" is certainly not a boring picture to watch. However, there is so much sound, light and violence coming off the screen that you're likely to feel rather more violated than you want to be by a mere movie. The film is also a little lopsided, being more about Dorothy's psychotic husband, Paul Snider, than about Dorothy, but the film's key scene, to me, anyway, is a sad, wan moment toward the end when Dorothy (beautifully played by Mariel Hemingway), being as sincere and honest as her limited capacities allow, attempts to describe what being famous means to her.

What it boils down to, she says with crushing earnestness, is being in an airport waiting room and having a complete stranger come up to ask for her autograph. "Star 80" is a most canny piece of movie making, but it might have been a great film had Mr. Fosse allowed himself to express more anger and disgust with the culture in which Dorothy briefly flourished and was so wastefully used.

Mr. Kaufman's "Right Stuff" is rousing, funny and expertly put together. Possibly because the movie is about real people, most of whom are still living, it also seems fairly gentle when it comes to the way in which the Mercury astronauts were exploited, first by the United States Government, which was in such a panic to catch up with the Soviet space program, and then by Life magazine, which purchased the rights to the stories of the astronauts and their families.

These astronauts were—and are—genuine celebrities, men of achievement, but the toll of that celebrity is treated mostly as a joke, twice at the expense of the late Lyndon B. Johnson.



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Handwritten text in Arabic script: "هذا هو الأمل"



# Uphill struggle in Galilee

YA'ACOV FRIEDLER examines the 'Arab invasion' of Upper Nazareth

FOR THE PAST five years, Arab families from Nazareth, mainly newlyweds starting their own families, have been moving to Upper Nazareth, the Jewish development town overlooking their own, into flats vacated by Jewish tenants. It is a simple matter of supply and demand: Jewish owners eager to sell and Arabs with money to buy.

So far, 220 families have moved up, accounting for about 2.5 per cent of the 25,000 residents. But judging from the to-do there has been over the matter, one could well believe that 10 times that number was involved.

Besides the availability of housing in Upper Nazareth, there is also the incentive of superior municipal services. That perhaps is a misleading comparison, for the services in Nazareth itself leave almost everything to be desired.

The upward-moving Arabs either rented the flats and usually subsequently purchased them or bought them outright. For a long time the phenomenon attracted little notice. In a new city, rubbing shoulders with Israel's largest Arab town and itself the home of immigrants from 49 countries, the few Arabs were just one more group, a curiosity rather than a problem or a threat.

Then, a few months ago, a heated controversy over the "Arab invasion" erupted in the quiet hilltop city and it was not long before even moderate people suspected that it was not as innocent as it looked, but was "backed by nationalist circles." Some even claimed to discern the long arm of the PLO and its funds behind the development.

A local organization, *Mena* (Prevention), sprang up, dedicated to "stopping the Arabs moving into our city," and found a ready collaborator in the lunatic Kach movement of Rabbi Meir Kahane, who openly preaches the expulsion, voluntary or forced, of all Arabs from all Israel.

It may have been coincidence, but the storm broke at about the same time as the municipal election campaign got under way. Indeed, the issue became a major factor in the campaign, with candidates charging each other with "selling out to the Arabs" in such matters as flats and taxi licences. The extraordinarily good showing of the Likud at the polls, increasing its representation on the 13-member, traditionally solid Labour council, from two to five, is largely credited to its pursuit of the Arab theme.

The elections are over, but the evil the campaign generated lives on to trouble Upper Nazareth. When another Arab family moved in recently, they arrived complete with a TV crew to film what they shrewdly expected, would be an attempt to keep them out. The police saw to it that they were let in.

Observers maintain that extremism has taken over — on the Jewish side among the simple people incited trouble-makers, and on the Arab from the top down. These

observers point out that for the past decade, Nazareth has been ruled by the Rakah, Communist-dominated "Democratic Front" which is no friend of Israel, has very little to show for its years at the helm, and is always eager to exploit ethnic troubles, on the time-honoured Communist principle that "the worse things are for the people, the better they are for the party."

THE MAYOR of Upper Nazareth, Menachem Ariav, who was comfortably re-elected in the first round, but had his Alignment council majority clipped, stresses that the town was founded 27 years ago with the specific purpose of a Jewish town not a mixed one, in eastern Galilee. He notes that then-premier David Ben-Gurion wrote in November 1962, "under no circumstances a mixed town." But B-G added, "That means no Jewish settlers in lower Nazareth."

Ariav holds that "you can't judge Upper Nazareth from Tel Aviv or even Haifa. It's not that we don't want Arabs to live here. We don't want to become a problematic city because they do."

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* he noted: "We are a Jewish town of 25,000 in close proximity to 110,000 Arabs. We came to live next to each other, not with each other. Upper Nazareth is too small to solve the housing and development problems of Nazareth, which is not looking after itself."

Moreover, his city has its hands more than full doing its job of absorbing immigrants. "We can't cope with the Arabs as well. Their influx raises problems of religion, language, customs and ways of life we are too small to solve."

While Ariav does not blame the Arabs for wanting to move up into the better-kept Upper Nazareth, he scores as "speculators" the Jewish tenants "who got cheap government housing in order to come and live in the Galilee, and sell it at a handsome profit to Arabs and move away." He sees them as profiteering in state property.

Ariav maintains that while at first the few families who moved up "one by one" represented no problem, "the move has now become organized, backed by nationalist extremists."

Upper Nazareth has done enough for the Arabs of Nazareth, he says, pointing to the 300-family Arab quarter built inside its city limits with the council's full approval. From now on, the Nazareth housing shortage must be solved in that city and the neighbouring Arab villages. "Maybe a new Arab town, on our own model, should be built. We're ready to help, but not to serve as a substitute."

He also fears that the problem may adversely affect the good relations, on the personal level, between the twin cities of Nazareth and Upper Nazareth.

On the official level, "there are

almost no relations, except on technical matters like the water supply and sewage system." But on the personal level, "we have hundreds of Nazareth Arabs working in our factories, some of them foremen and managers, and there is no trouble at all. I don't want that spoiled."

IN A NEARBY cafe, where as in almost all Upper Nazareth cafes, alcoholic drinks, and especially arak, are a major item, someone says, "We are all 100 per cent against the Arabs moving in and the problem grows with their numbers. If they keep coming there'll be a disaster."

One man (who, like all the rest, does not want to be quoted by name) holds that the main problem is that the Arabs, who keep their own women confined at home, consider the Jewish girls and women "loose," and therefore "fair game." "We came to Israel to escape the gentiles for the sake of our children and not to live with Arabs again and have our women chased by them," another chips in.

A more restrained elderly shopkeeper points out that "the Arabs don't want to lose their identity and they must understand that we don't want to lose ours either."

He personally had sold his old flat to a Jewish family at a considerably lower price (than the Arabs were offering, because he thought that was the right thing to do, only to see them sell it to Arabs at a fine profit. "The golden calf has taken over," he said sadly, "only money matters."

"He feared that the trouble that had been stirred up and the consequent adverse publicity would stop Jewish families from coming to Upper Nazareth, negating its purpose. "I realize that we must live with the

Arabs in Israel, but not together. If things go on as they are we'll end up as an Arab town."

A young man asserted that when he and his mates go to a cinema in downtown Nazareth, they are harassed by Arab youths. "When we complain to the police, we're told, 'Why look for trouble? Go to your own cinema.' Furthermore, 'in Nazareth the Moslems and Christians live in separate quarters, so why do they come to mix our quarters?'"

WAFIK SAKHINI, a 37-year-old labourer employed in Haifa, is one of the Arabs who has moved up. He lives with his wife and two children in a three-room 54 sq.m. flat he bought two years ago from a Jewish owner who moved into a bigger one. It is located in the older Carmel quarter, where the Jewish tenants' principal ambition is to move out into the newer quarters or right away from the town.

Sakhini and his four brothers all moved up from Nazareth when they married. He came four years ago, and rented a flat before he bought his present home with the financial assistance of the Housing Ministry for which he and his wife were eligible as a young couple in a development town.

He shrugged off any "nationalist" motive for his move. "We had no room at home, that's all." His eldest son, aged four, goes to a state kindergarten for Arab children, which has two Christian and two Moslem teachers. The Sakhinis are Christian and "for the important holidays we go downtown to church. In the future, if the Jews agree, maybe we'll build a Church up here," he mused.

No, he had never experienced any difficulties in living with the Jews, and if there was an occasional squabble, "that happens among Arab too." He couldn't understand why there was all this talk. "I don't know of many problems."

The Sakhinis' neighbours, across the hallway, the Wolfs, immigrated from Poland 26 years ago and have been living in their flat ever since. Mr. Wolf was out working at a building site, but we found his wife Bella and their 28-year-old daughter Nava, who works as an X-ray technician in a Haifa hospital, at home. Another son lives in Yokneam.

Mrs. Wolf confirmed that their relations with the Sakhinis had been excellent. Despite the generation gap, "our doors were always open, we cooked for each other and I used to baby-sit when they went out. But not any longer."

The friction started a few weeks ago over the loud playing of Arab music, which disturbed her hus-

band's rest. When Sakhini asked whether his radio disturbed them "we said yes. They were insulted, and they asserted that we only said so because they were Arabs. Since then there's been a coolness."

Yes, she now thinks the Arabs in Upper Nazareth are a problem. "They don't like us and we don't like them. But if we say anything they call us anti-Semites."

Mrs. Wolf and her daughter believe that the once excellent relations between the people of the two Nazareths started going sour after the Yom Kippur War. The Jews used to go down the mountain for their shopping, though the Arabs never came up for theirs.

"But now we refrain from that as much as possible. Every time there is some incident, like the terrorists' murder of our men in Tyre, there is a strain, which is only natural. But that is something that divides us."

Mrs. Wolf added: "We made no attempt to stop the Sakhinis moving in next door, but now I can understand others who do."

Hava said she goes back and forth to Haifa in an Arab bus. She had never experienced any trouble and had not been conscious of its being an Arab bus until a girl at work remarked on it. She "understands" the young Arab men pursuing Jewish girls, "because they have no chance with their own unless they marry them." This particular problem existed before the Arabs moved into the town, because it was only a few minutes by bus from Nazareth. She considered it the business of every girl to take care of herself.

DANNY COHEN is regarded as one of the activists in the effort to keep the Arabs out. He ran for mayor in the last elections, on an independent ticket, and in the process lost his seat on the council, where he had supported the Likud. He denied membership in *Mena* and had "nothing to do" with the crack pot anti-Arab extremism of Alex Finkelstein, who is associated with Kach. But he admits that, among the many planks in his election platform, he included the "non-racist" promise "to foster the Jewish-Zionist character of Upper Nazareth."

A 45-year-old retired major in the regular army, with a B.A. in education and history, he immigrated from Rumania in 1947 and has been living in the town for 20 years.

His attitude is that the two peoples are in a state of tension in the Middle East "and Upper Nazareth can't change it. Mixing Jews and Arabs before we solve the basic problems between us will inevitably cause unbearable stress."

"We don't want to become the Shouf Mountains of Israel," he emphasized, asserting that this was quite clear to the Arabs as well, "and they have found ways of preventing Jews from coming to live in Nazareth or in their villages."

When Jews want to live in Hebron the whole Arab world is up in arms he pointed out, "but when we object to Arabs moving in here our own leftists and kibbutzniks call us racists. Isn't it strange that there

are no Arabs in the kibbutzim, and when one of their girls married an Arab not a single kibbutz would take them in?"

Cohen, who has two shops and a part-time teaching post, does "not believe the Arabs come to live in Upper Nazareth 'in all innocence.'"

"It's not just the housing shortage. Unlike Finkelstein, I don't think they get PLO financing, but they have PLO encouragement. The way they see it, by settling here they kill two birds — get a flat and harm the Jews."

While he wants nothing to do with *Mena*, "it's a good thing there should be a right-wing reaction to the vociferous left-wing goody-goodies."

IF THE PROBLEM was really only one of a housing shortage, said Cohen, "I am ready to back Nazareth's Mayor Tewfik Zayad in demanding government help to solve it." Personally, he wants good relations with the Arabs, "but not to live in the same house with them. I'm sure that sooner or later it will cause an explosion."

He, too, regretted that people were exploiting the demand in order to make money, and asserted that some agents had specialized in selling Jewish flats to Arabs. Even the villa of the town's long-time mayor Mordechai Allon had been sold to a rich Arab by such a go-between.

It is a statistical fact that not a few of the town's veterans exploited the Arab hunger for housing to sell them the flats they received almost free from the government. They include original tenants of the regular army estate built by the government. There are Arabs who can afford to pay more because their cumulative family earnings are higher and it's cheaper for them to buy a flat in Upper Nazareth than build a house in Nazareth. They don't need PLO financing.

Moreover, they prefer the Upper Nazareth quality of life. But, perhaps significantly, many of them do not register their new addresses, because they want their children to study in Arab schools downtown. Nobody abuses them as "racists" for it.

The election campaign mud-slinging "lowered the provocation threshold" of the simpler people, said one Jewish resident, making it easier for extremists to stir up feelings against "the Arabs who get government money to buy out Jewish tenants," adding the jealousy motive to an already brittle situation. Another went as far as to assert that "the Arabs have vowed to buy us all out."

THE INTERIOR Ministry's Northern District representative, Yisrael Koenig, takes a broader view. He holds that Upper Nazareth is a minor issue, and the real problem is the future of the whole eastern Galilee. By the year 2000, Nazareth and its environment is expected to develop into a megalopolis of 250,000 inhabitants, astride the access to the north. "We must not prevent Arabs from spreading out, but must also invest in Jewish settlements in the area," he holds.

Koenig says there is no objective reason for the Nazareth housing shortage, stressing that the ministry planners had provided enough land reserves for the city and all the Arab villages to cover their housing needs "for at least 25 years." But they needed the initiative to build.

Koenig lives as well as works in Upper Nazareth and has Arab neighbours. He traces the roots of the present trouble to the town's very beginnings, when some Arab lands were expropriated to build it though plenty of state-owned land on bare mountaintops was available. The town planning had been shortsighted, and the founding fathers had not bothered to lay the groundwork for good neighbourly relations with Nazareth, thus failing to invest in the future.

He also attributes what fear there is of the Arabs moving in to "the lack of security in our Jewish education, the lack of confidence of some of us about why we're here in Israel, and the lack of appreciation of the meaning of Jewish life for us and our children."

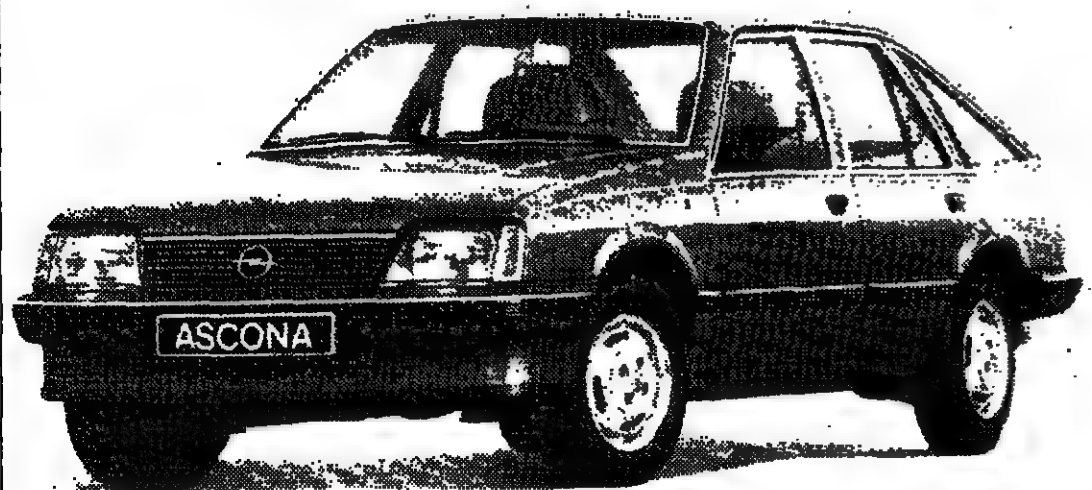
To him this is a clear signal for a more meaningful Jewish education. Himself religious, he notes that the religious school his own children attended decided years ago to study Arabic and engaged an Arab teacher from Nazareth. In his opinion, parents who are confident in their children's Jewish education need have no compunction about living and studying with Arabs.

THERE IS a single Arab business in Upper Nazareth, a humous and lighthearted cafe run by a member of the Nasser family from nearby Touran village. He, too, preferred not to have his name published. He's had the cafe for four years, and 99 per cent of his customers are Jewish. "I've never had any trouble and was never aware of a problem." He continues to live in his own house, a few minutes' drive away in Touran, "and there's no reason to give it up for a flat here."

A Moslem, he is one of the few cafe-owners who do not serve alcohol and his shop meticulously observes the Jewish Holy Days. "I close for Pessah but some of the Jewish cafes sell hametz," he says.

Nazareth Deputy Mayor Ramez Juraydi of the Democratic Front says the only reason for Nazareth to move to Upper Nazareth is the housing shortage, which has hit the 1,000-unit mark. At the same time, he holds that the Arab citizens of Israel have the right to live anywhere they choose in the country and it is inconceivable that they should be kept out. He adds that the Front asked the Knesset to make incitement against Arabs, of the type *Mena* and Kach practise, a criminal offence.

Now that the elections are over, the situation is likely to cool down. But as long as Nazareth fails to satisfy the housing needs of its residents, and Upper Nazareth is ready to sell flats to the highest bidder, the potential for more trouble is there. So are the troublemakers, from both sides, who thrive on it.



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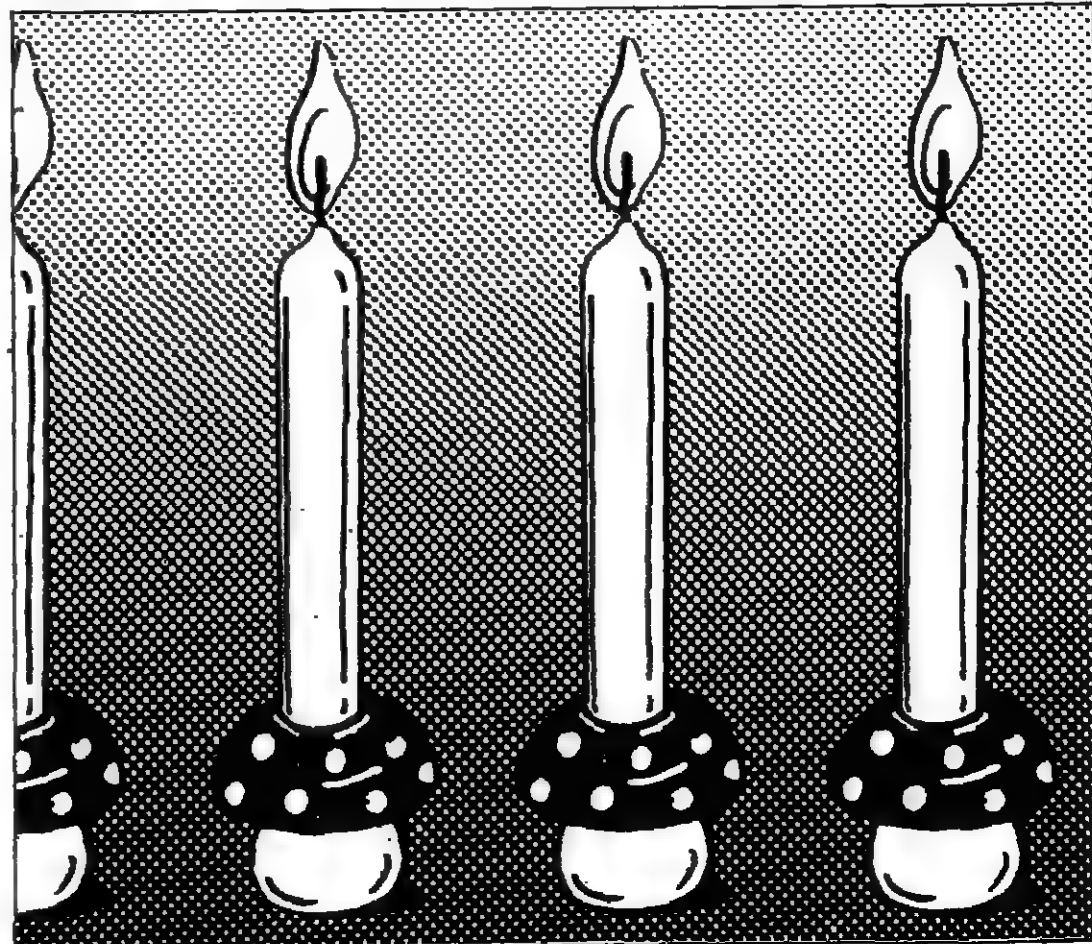
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TEARS AND laughter and a heroes' welcome for the six who returned from captivity last Thursday. It was an all-radio show, and not even the belated, stop-gap newsreel injected by Israel Television during the early afternoon could eradicate the impressions created by the radio reporters.

There was a laudable balance of voices from both sides of the ethnic border: we even heard bits of the emotion-laden reunion of the Palestinians with their relatives. And, *lehavdil*, Lova Eliav (who wasn't invited to the festivities) told us a little about his own efforts and those of the much-maligned Bruno Kreisky in the prisoner exchange.

According to Jewish tradition, some mitzvot outweigh all others and wipe the slate clean insofar as the heavenly reckoning is concerned. Among these are the saving of a Jewish life and the redemption of prisoners. So surely Bruno must be totally rehabilitated by now, with a golden stool waiting for him beyond the pearly gates. But, while much may possibly be forgiven, not everything is forgotten.

NOW I'M GOING to drop the other shoe. The exchange contained too much that was exaggerated. As a former military correspondent of this paper, I was present at a

## OVERDONE EUPHORIA

LISTENING IN...Ze'ev Schul

number of prisoner exchanges and recall with horror the state in which some of our men returned from Syrian captivity.

I am in total agreement with the need for the exchange — from the humanitarian point of view. Seen from the security angle, however, it was a disaster.

And another aspect: To the best of my knowledge, the heroes' welcome these youngsters received was out of place. A quiet and restrained gratitude to all concerned in the exchange — yes. Congratulations to the families who were reunited with their loved ones, most certainly. But it should have stopped there.

There should have been a public disclosure of the circumstances leading to the capture of the night soldiers, and the appropriate conclusions drawn, including the need

for greater alertness. The Arabs have also learnt a thing or two from Israel. We should borrow the IDF staff and training college's motto: "With guile shalt thou make war" (Proverbs 20, 18).

The thousands of PLO men and women set free included a long list of convicted murderers, mercenaries and hooligans. There should have been some sort of outlet for the bereaved relatives of the victims of terrorism to express emotions.

There were two things in favour of the exchange: the "now or never" factor, looming large in view of the strife within the terrorist movement, and the ending of the considerable outlay in funds and manpower needed to maintain the Palestinian prisoners. In the long term, the exchange may also have a placating effect on Israeli-

Arab/Palestinian relations. It's a pity the radio gave us so little worthwhile in-depth commentary. It would have been more appreciated than the jubilation and hallelujahs which the occasion did not merit. Tribute should also have been paid to the security services, whose members spent years risking life and limb to pursue the thousands now released.

ON THE SUBJECT of prisoners, Wednesday night's late phone-in show gave some insight into our prisons, reportedly overcrowded. As far as I can see, these conditions haven't succeeded in knocking the inmates into any better moral shape.

During the past three years, the homes of my two married children, my octogenarian mother-in-law and my wife and myself have all been burgled.

The most recent incident occurred last week, when a gang broke into my artist daughter's studio and made off with her most recent paintings, representing months of work. To add insult to injury, they also took her cello. My wife and I lost the contents of our safe — our last few, treasured family trinkets.

Were it up to me, I would cram the lot of them into a single cell — standing room only.

## Lack of caring

MUSIC

Concerto was performed by ten string players and Miss Mense at the harpsichord without a conductor.)

The accompaniment of Dussek's concerto emerged thick and muddled, and conductor Lawrence Foster was unable to extract anything reasonable from the musicians. Orchestral sections between piano passages seemed out of context.

Under these circumstances the delicate, slightly understated piano parts of the two Labèque sisters seemed hopelessly lost in a rather

unsympathetic environment. The meagre musical content of Dussek's work could, of course, also not be ignored. To sum up: a near fiasco.

Mozart's "Linz" symphony was the only piece in this concert that sounded adequately rehearsed and in which the conductor acted as guide. At last, Foster had the orchestra in his hands and interpreted. It was not a particularly inspiring performance, but the basic qualities of the symphony, gaiety, lightness and motion, were brought out reasonably well.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

HAIFA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Shalom Ronly-Riklis conducting, with Uri Planka, violin (Haifa Auditorium, November 21). *Sanctus* (Dussek); *Concerto in B-flat major for two pianos and orchestra*; *Mozart: Symphony No. 36 in C major, K.425 ("Linz")*.

THIS WELL-BUILT programme of contemporary music started with a premier performance, the *Introduction and Passacaglia for Orchestra* by Ram Da-Oz. Written in 1981, the somewhat long work did not seem to bear the "Da-Oz stamp." It was less concentrated and coherent and more conventional than his other works that have been played by the HSO. However, the work is colourful, using a rich orchestration for its varied moods.

Uri Planka played the solo part of the Prokofiev demanding violin concerto with good craftsmanship, vitality and understanding. His tone and style were appropriate to the demands of the music. Ronly-Riklis and the orchestra provided good support.

The evening showed the orchestra to be well-prepared, alert and disciplined in its good cooperation with the conductor. There was also good balance between the various groups of instruments and fine synchronization.

A spirited performance of the Shostakovich symphony added merit. Ronly-Riklis led the musicians with poise and resourcefulness, and the work emerged clear and precise, light and humorous. There were good solos, especially in the bassoon, piccolo and trumpet.

ESTHER REUTER

ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA, David Shallon conducting, Michael Wolensky, Solo (Jerusalem Theatre, November 24). *Elgar: Introduction and Allegro for String Quartet and String Orchestra, Op. 47*; *Mozart: Flute Concerto in G, K.313*; *Strauss: "Quadrille" Concerto for Chamber Orchestra*; *Haydn: Symphony No. 95, in C minor*.

DAVID SHALLON's fresh attitude and active music-making brought a liveliness into the concert, though his temperament was not always suitable for the music at hand. Perhaps his romantic exuberance was helpful in Elgar's string piece in overcoming a certain dryness in texture. For the Mozart concerto, however, tempo was too rigorous, the dynamics too compact, and the conductor's attitude too aggressive and inelastic — a seemingly loveless approach.

The soloist, a very reliable orchestra musician, was too stiff and impersonal in interpreting his solo part, which emerged monochrome in tone quality and monotone in dynamics and sonority. Insecure horns in the orchestra added to the discomfort of the listener.

The rather unsatisfying first half was somewhat compensated for after the intermission. Our younger generation conductors always excel in Stravinsky interpretations, and the "Dumbarton Oaks" Concerto was performed with precision in a well-prepared reading. Finally, the lovely Haydn Symphony made the Israel Chamber Orchestra give a performance commensurate with the demands of the music. Emanuel Gruber, leader of the cello section, deserves special mention for the smooth execution of the tricky solo in the Trio of the Menuetto.

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## Permissible expression

LAW REPORT/Asher Felix Landau

In the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice before Justice Yehuda Cohen, Justice Shoshana Netanyahu and Judge (Acting Justice) Eliezer Goldberg in the matter between advocate Yedidya Be'eri, applicant, versus the attorney-general and Aluf (Res.) Matityahu Peled, respondents (H.C.650/82).

THE SECOND respondent, Aluf (Res.) Matityahu Peled, gave press conferences in London and Paris in July 1982, together with one Issam Sartawi, a leader of the PLO. At the conference in London he described the Israeli incursion into Lebanon as illegal, unjustified and immoral. He also said that the PLO is not an enemy of Israel since it has demonstrated its readiness to seek a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In Paris Peled and Sartawi issued a joint appeal to raise the siege of Beirut, recall the Israeli Army from all parts of Lebanon and conduct immediate and direct negotiations with the PLO "which has already recognized Israel"; they also called upon all the nations of the world to exert pressure on Israel to regard members of the PLO who fall into its hands as prisoners-of-war.

The petitioner requested the attorney-general to order a police investigation and prosecute Peled for contravening sections 99 and 100 of the Penal Law of 1977, which provide as follows:

99 (a) A person who, with intent to assist an enemy in war against Israel, commits an act calculated to assist him, is liable to the death penalty or imprisonment for life.

(b) For the purposes of this section, "assistance" includes delivering information with intent that it shall fall into the hands of the enemy or in the knowledge that it may fall into his hands; and it shall be immaterial that no war is being waged at the time the information is delivered.

100 A person who does any act evincing one of the intentions referred to in sections 97, 98 and 99 is liable to imprisonment for ten years.

Under section 123 of the law, a prosecution may not be instituted in respect of offences connected with state security, foreign relations or official secrets save by the attorney-general or with his consent. Moreover, section 62 of the Criminal Procedure Law (Consolidated Version) 1982 provides that "where it appears to the prosecutor (which, of course, includes the attorney-general himself) to whom the investigation material has been transmitted that there is sufficient evidence to charge a particular person, he shall prosecute him unless he is of the opinion that no public interest is involved."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, Prof. Yitzhak Zamir, declined to act since, in his opinion, even if it were proved that Peled had made the statements alleged, there was no *prima facie* evidence

that an offence under the sections had been committed, as there was no evidence of the intention "to assist an enemy in a war against Israel." He also added that this being the case, he found no need to weigh the element of "public interest."

The petitioner then applied to the High Court of Justice, which issued an order nisi calling upon the attorney-general to show cause why the prosecution requested should not be instituted. The attorney-general submitted in his reply that exceptional care must be taken before instituting police enquiries and criminal proceedings in respect of political opinions, even if they are extreme and unpopular, for fear of interfering unnecessarily and unwisely with freedom of expression, particularly in political matters, this being the very basis of a democratic regime.

Since the dividing line between political opinions that may be expressed and those the expression of which constitutes an offence is not clearly defined in the law, the fixing of that line is a matter of policy to be determined by the attorney-general. That policy is that freedom of expression must not be curtailed by criminal proceedings save in extreme cases of clear, serious and immediate danger to the state or the community, and each case must be considered in the light of that policy. He was satisfied there was no such danger in the present case, and the court will not interfere as long as he acts in good faith.

In his reply to the petition, Peled gave a detailed description of his political opinions on the matters dealt with at the press conferences, and of his activities for many years on the Israel Council for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace. He also described the positions he held in the Israeli army until his discharge in 1969 with the rank of aluf (major-general).

THE JUDGMENT of the court was given by Justice Yehuda Cohen. Aluf Peled had asked the court, he said, to dismiss the petition on the ground that the petitioner had no legal standing. Counsel for the attorney-general agreed that the petitioner had no such standing, but asked the court not to dismiss the application for this reason.

Since, however, the court had decided to dismiss the application on its merits, and in view of the attorney-general's attitude, it would not give a ruling on this point.

The Supreme Court had held many times, Justice Cohen continued, that the attorney-general's discretion in regard to the institution of criminal proceedings was very wide, and the court would not interfere provided he acted in good faith, out of proper motives, and in the public interest — or, at least, not clearly against that interest. In view of these decisions, he found no necessity to consider the many English and American authorities cited. Moreover, it was unsafe to adopt the rulings in other countries

on this subject since the powers and independence of the attorney-general in Israel were not always parallel to those existing elsewhere.

The petitioner had argued, Justice Cohen continued, that in deciding that there was no evidence to prove Peled's intention to assist an enemy, the attorney-general had arrogated to himself the powers of the court. He had relied in this respect on section 149(4) of the Criminal Procedure Law, which enables an accused to argue at his trial that the facts described in the Information do not constitute an offence, and obliges the court to decide this issue. Section 62 of that Law, therefore, must be construed accordingly.

This argument is quite untenable, Justice Cohen held, for it means that, apart from the element of public interest, the attorney-general is obliged to institute a prosecution wherever the complainant believes that there is sufficient evidence of an offence, even if he is of opinion that there is no such evidence and the accused will be acquitted.

Moreover, there may be cases in which a prosecution is unjustified even if there is sufficient evidence of an offence — where, for example, the offence has prescribed where the statute of limitations applies or the potential accused has already been convicted. It is clear that it is for the attorney-general to exercise his discretion in the matter, and even were this court of opinion that he erred and that, in the present case, for example, there was sufficient evidence, it still would hesitate to interfere. The fact that section 149 of the Criminal Procedure Law enables the accused to raise this point again at his trial and obliges the court to decide thereon is totally irrelevant.

IT MUST also be emphasized, Justice Cohen added, that in the case of the offences now discussed, section 123 of the Penal Law specifically requires the attorney-general himself to decide whether to prosecute or not, and this is an additional reason why the court should hesitate to interfere.

In the present case, Justice Cohen concluded, the attorney-general had also decided that the public interest would not be served by the prosecution of Peled. Within the narrow compass of the court's discretion, there was no ground for interference in respect of either point which the attorney-general is required to consider. The order nisi would therefore be discharged, and the application dismissed.

The petitioner was ordered to pay the costs of each of the respondents in the sum of IS20,000.

The petitioner appeared in person, Advocate Renato Yarak director of the High Court Division of the State Attorney's Office, for the attorney-general, and advocate Amnon Zichroni and Ma'azar Copli for Aluf Peled.

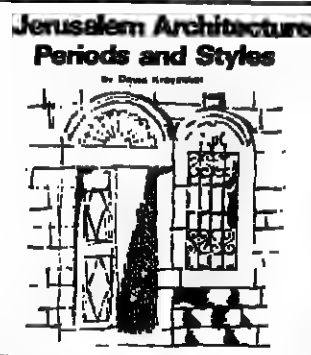
Judgment was given on October 20, 1983.

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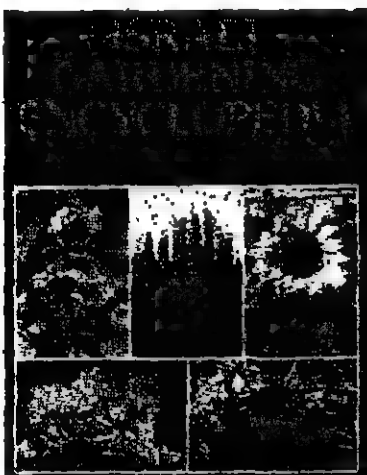
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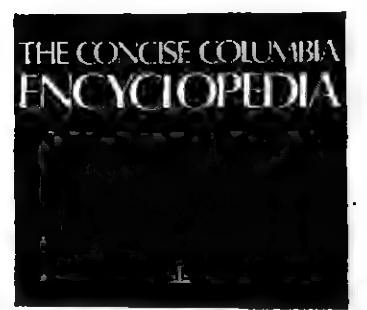
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# Angry split

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Pamkula, Turkish Cyprus

THE HEAVY CURTAIN cloaking the church have shielded the young muezzin standing before the microphone from view, but it did not muffle his soaring rendition of the Moslem call to prayer.

His cry reverberated off whitewashed walls once decorated with icons. Opposite a pulpit to which stairs once led, a simple wooden niche is set into the south wall to indicate the direction of prayer towards Mecca.

This village in Cyprus's northeast had been inhabited by Greeks for centuries before inter-communal fighting in the mid-1970s led to a massive exchange of populations — some 150,000 Greeks heading south, some 65,000 Turks heading north to the Turkish enclave.

The Turkish Cypriots in this village are refugees from the south who have settled in the houses of Greeks who went south. "We use the church to pray because it is a house of God and we had no mosques of our own," explains a 40-year-old farmer putting on his shoes after leaving the building.

Churches are the dominant architectural element in villages all through this once heavily Christian area, now inhabited by Turks. Those churches not used as mosques are kept locked under the supervision of the Turkish Cypriots' Department of Antiquities. Many still topped by crosses and their walls are intact.

In two villages at the far end of the panhandle, the bells are still

rung every Sunday morning, because Greek communities remain the only ones in Turkish Cyprus. "No one forced us to go, so we didn't," says 80-year-old Christos Tatar, sitting in a cafe on the dusty main street of Dikarpaz. He and 600 other Greeks chose to stay on here when the remaining villagers, some 3,400, went south in 1974.

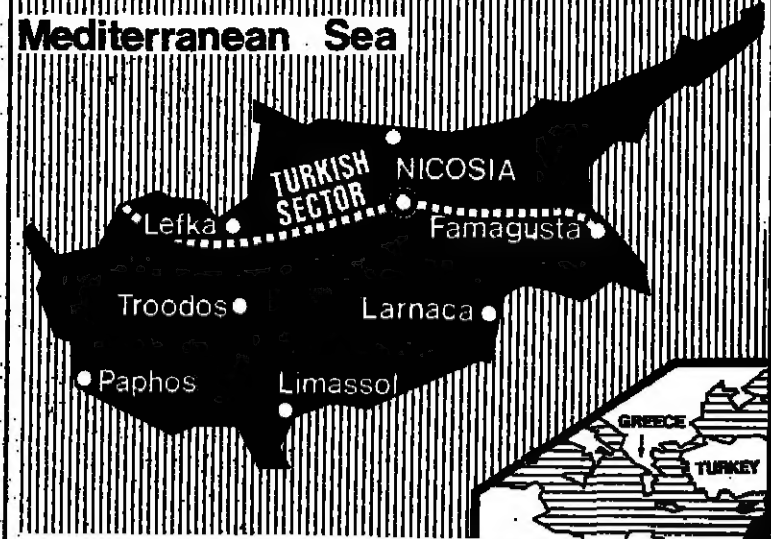
IN NEARBY Sipahi, 200 Greeks stayed on. The village's remoteness apparently gave these residents a sense of relative security, and both the Greek and Turkish leadership had pledged not to force anyone to leave his home.

Some 120 Turks still live in Greek Cyprus, most of them in a single village.

Turkish refugees from south Cyprus and peasants from the Turkish mainland have been settled alongside the remaining Greeks in Dikarpaz and Sipahi. Both sides have their own coffee houses. They indicate that their relationship is correct — "well mannered," said a Turk — but restrained.

"The Turkish woman who lives over there was just over for coffee," says a sixtyish woman teacher in Dikarpaz's Greek elementary school, Mrs. Mouzouzi, as she gestures towards a house across the fields. "But I wouldn't say I have much social contact with Turks."

The authorities on both sides permit family visits across the line dividing the island. Every Christmas and Easter, says Mrs. Mouzouzi,



she fills a basket with chicken, fish and homemade delicacies and crosses the line to visit her married daughter and son.

"They don't ask me to stay on with them. They want to come back here. We love this place."

Does she think it is possible in Cyprus to integrate Turks and Greeks on a large scale as in the past? Mrs. Mouzouzi sidesteps any endorsement of integration. "That's for the politicians to decide," she says.

There was no endorsement to be heard either in nearby Cayroua, which had been an integrated village until violence began in the 1950s. The Turks were a small minority and they fled one day in 1958 after two of their number were gaoled. "We returned two years later and rebuilt our houses, which had been burned," says farmer Remzi Kamil, after dismounting from his tractor and joining other villagers back from the fields on low stools outside the coffee house. "In 1963, we had to flee again."

We didn't return this time until the partition of the island in 1974." OF THE 1,000 Greeks in the village, only 20 had not yet left when the Turks returned. "We spoke to them nicely," says Kamil, "because now we had the power and we didn't want to do to them what they had done to us. We told each other about our lives since we last saw each other — who was dead, who had moved, then they left."

No, says Kamil, he is not curious about where his former neighbours are living in the south, and he has no interest in ever seeing them again. "We can never live together. We've suffered too much. We want our independence and nothing else."

The young Turkish Cypriot interpreter, repeating Kamil's remarks, says that he himself was a refugee from the south. "Mine is the last generation of Turkish Cypriots that knows Greek and the Greeks. We will need time to develop healthy new links. This generation cannot live together. Maybe the next can."

## THE BEARS AND TIGERS

ROUND THE gentle arc of the bay south of Famagusta at the eastern end of Cyprus, a line of handsome hotels crowds the sand beach for a mile, despite the balmy weather, not person can be seen.

"There's not a soul there," says the Turkish Cypriot sipping baklava on the veranda of a hotel overlooking the bay. "Hasn't been since 1974."

The resort suburb of Varosha has been the most luxurious no man's land in the world since it was abandoned by the Greeks during the inter-communal fighting and sealed off the Turkish Cypriots lie beyond the edge of the bay.

Turkish Cypriot President Turgut Denktash last week offered to negotiate the return of Greeks to Varosha as a

"goodwill" gesture," following the declaration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Greek acceptance seems unlikely in view of the implicit recognition of the new state that might be seen in such a move.

The Turkish Cypriot on the balcony expresses no regret at the line that has divided the island ever more conclusively into two separate worlds over the past decade.

"In the zoo, they separate the bears and the tigers," he says. "Why would anyone want to put us and the Greeks together?"

In the capital of Nicosia, the tension between the bears and tigers was more pronounced this week than at any time since the 1974 fighting. The Greeks have sealed the one crossing point at

the former Ledra Palace Hotel to journalists and tourist day trippers who in the past had been permitted to cross the lines.

Last Monday, Greeks and Turks gathered in their city centres barely a mile apart to denounce and applaud the independence move respectively and to vow to wage their battle until the end.

On the Turkish side, a sense of redemption from long humiliation appeared to underlie the passionate feelings. "Materially nothing has changed since independence last week," said Ozer Rafi, a shipping agent in Famagusta. "Morally, everything has changed. Before we were not accepted by the Greeks into the Cypriot family."

We now know we are somebody."

Said a government employee: "Until last week we were a non-entity. Now we have proven to the world that we are an entity."

With more than 20,000 Turkish troops on hand to defend them, the Turkish Cypriots feel secure despite the fact that they are only 20 per cent of the island's population. "I don't think the Greeks will be foolish enough to try military action," said a businessman.

War does seem unlikely at present on this beautiful island where Aphrodite, the goddess of love, was born according to Greek legend. But peace on the island between the two peoples inhabiting it seems infinitely more remote.

A.R.

# Unhealthy outlook

By JASPER BECKER/Geneva

THE GOALS of the programme "Health for All by the Year 2000," adopted six years ago by 137 countries, are slipping further and further out of reach, according to a report of the World Health Organization (WHO).

In the first progress review, covering 70 countries with 64 per cent of the world's population, a distressing picture emerges.

None of the worst communicable diseases — malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, river blindness, bilharzia, trachoma and sleeping sickness — are close to being defeated and the incidence of many, in fact, is worsening.

Since 1968, the number of registered leprosy patients has grown by 80 per cent to five million. Malaria, thought to have been defeated in the 1970s, is still a grave problem in most of the countries reviewed. Between two million and three million people die of tuberculosis each year, posing a major health hazard throughout the developing world.

Ten per cent of all infants born in the Third World die before their first birthdays. In Africa, West Asia and South-East Asia, half a million women die annually from causes related to pregnancy and childbirth, leaving behind at least one million motherless children.

Five million infants under five years old die of diarrhoea a year. A third of the world is infected with roundworm and a quarter with hookworm.

WHO says it is encouraged by the number of countries — 70 out of the 148 reviewed — that have adopted a primary health care policy. But it still concludes in its report that "the prospects of reaching everyone with basic health care remain very slim indeed."

Lack of money is only part of the problem, the report says, although the extent of the shortfall is daunting.

The report estimates that an extra \$50 billion a year is needed. In the 25 poorest countries, the average public health expenditure per capita is only \$2.6, and the world economic recession has forced many developing countries to reduce health spending even further.

Dr. Halfdan Mahler, the WHO's outspoken director-general for the past 10 years, says many, many governments have squandered budgets on non-essential drugs and over-qualified doctors.

"Developing countries may be putting the health of millions at risk by spending up to 80 per cent of their health budgets on doctors. Millions are spent providing for a few in rich urban areas, while the majority in the countryside suffer — and die — of diseases that could cheaply be prevented," he says.

In Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries, there is one doctor per 1,300 town-dwellers. But only one for every 30,000 rural inhabitants, the report says.

The third world spends half its health budget on drugs. About nine billion dollars annually, and Mahler thinks only 200 of the 25,000 drugs on the market are essential.

IN SPITE OF the report's generally pessimistic tone, Dr. Hammad El Bindari, who is in charge of the WHO's Intersectoral Action for Health, remains an optimist.

"The WHO's aims are still within reach: look what China has achieved — low infant mortality and clean water for everyone. Progress depends on investments in many areas. Infrastructure improvements have been made since 1977 but they will take a few more years to affect the statistics."

WHO officials noted that there is a persistent and growing commitment to preventive medicine in developing countries, and that things look worse only because "we are now in a position to collect the right figures."

Some Western diplomats also say the report's negative tone is not cause for undue alarm. One expert commented that "although the WHO underestimated how difficult it is to bring about the major changes... a lot more has been achieved than would have happened without the WHO's programmes. A negative report like this is essential to keep up the momentum for change."

(Associated Press)



Fanny and Max Targ  
Music Centre  
Ein Karem,  
Jerusalem, P.O.B. 410



Koi Yisrael

TONIGHT, Monday, November 28, 1983, 8.30 p.m.

Simcha Heled, cello  
Yonatan Zak, piano

Beethoven: Sonata No. 2, Op. 102  
Kipinen: Sonata, Op. 90 (Israeli premiere)  
Rodrigo: Siciliana (Israeli premiere)  
Chopin: Sonata in G minor, Op. 65

Tickets: at Kiam and Ein Karem  
Special bus: at 7.30 — from King David Hotel; at 7.45 — from Kings Hotel; at 8.00 — from Mount Herzl. The bus returns to town after the concert!



VESSEL	EXPECTED SAILING DATE*	DESTINATION
SIGAL	20.12	Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Antwerp
PALMACH II	28.12	As above plus Lisbon, Leixoes
BLACK PRINCE	25.12	London
CAMELIA	31.12	London
MANCHESTER CROWN	16.12	Liverpool, Dublin
CITY OF PLYMOUTH	28.12	Liverpool, Dublin
LOTUS	19-21.12	Trieste, Venice, Ravenna
JASMINE	28-28.12	Trieste, Venice, Koper
VOSGES	19.12	Marseille
NARCIS	20-22.12	Marseille, Barcelona, Livorno
VENDEE	26.12	Marseille
IRIS	27.12-29.12	Marseille, Naples
ESHEL	26.12-28.12	Piraeus, Constantza, Izmir
OSTE EXPRESS	12.12	Limassol, Alexandria
OSTE EXPRESS	20.12	Limassol, Izmir
OSTE EXPRESS	29.12	Limassol, Mersin

\* Subject to change

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Hanukkiya from Prague  
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This year's choice for the 14th annual Hanukka coin of the State of Israel is the spectacular HANUKKIYA FROM PRAGUE, once an important spiritual centre of European Jewry.

The Hanukkiya (from the Israel Museum collection) is decorated with the figures of Moses the prophet and the priest Aaron, and imparts a rare artistic and numismatic value to the coin.

The coin is designed by the well-known Jerusalem artist, Nathan Karp, and is issued by the Bank of Israel in two versions, which differ in nominal value, diameter, and weight.

- Proof coin: 850 silver; nom. value: IS 2; diameter: 37 mm.; weight: 28.8g; Price: IS 2450
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## General Share Index up 0.35%

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU

Hapolum shares were one per cent lower. The Finance and Trade 5 stock was dropped for a 10 per cent loss. Leumi and IDB were unchanged. Union added one per cent, while Israel General spurted ahead by three per cent.

Trading turnovers in the share market were the lowest of any day recorded in the recent past. Of a total turnover of IS377 million, only IS96m. was traded in the non-banking shares.

As is the case towards the end of every month, the trading in index-linked bonds picked up noticeably and nearly reached the IS1.1 billion mark.

Bond prices were generally firm, with the 4 per cent fully-linked bonds moving ahead smartly and up to three per cent. The seven per cent, 80 per cent linked issues also were in demand and showed gains of up to three per cent.

In the mortgage bank group there was little action apart from the Bin-yan shares.

In the specialized financial in-

surance group Clal Leasing 0.1 was a 10 per cent gainer while the Industrial Development Bank shares backtracked by 6.4 per cent.

Insurance shares trended lower and the sectoral index was down by 1.34 per cent. Losses of 5-7 per cent were recorded by Ararat 0.5, Phoenix 0.1 and Menorah 1.

The service and trade sector was slightly higher, with the usual high degree of volatility. Coral Beach was 10.1 per cent higher, while Clal Computers was down by the same amount. Nikiv Computers rose by 7.1 per cent, while Yehalom Hotels fell by the same figure.

Industrials barely managed to end the session on the upside. Elbit Computers was nicked for a 3.5 per cent decline, while Elron was unchanged. Alia C was 8.7 per cent higher. It is possible that hopes for a rehabilitation of the ailing company were behind the speculative buying. Vitalgo continued to zig-zag as its 1 shares fell by 5.2 per cent.

Oils were sharply higher, with the group index advancing by 3.76 per cent.

Ata Textiles announced that its board of directors approved the necessary steps for the preparation of a rights issue to shareholders. This is a part of the programme submitted to the Ministry of Industry and the Treasury designed to rehabilitate the ailing textile concern.

Dr. Avraham Suhaimi, Elscint's president, announced yesterday his intention to float in the near future a \$61 million research and development tax shelter on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

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Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
Commercial Banks				
IDB p	85500	—	+620	+7
IDB p	3708	81	—	—
IDB B r	3912	35	+132	+3.5
IDB p. A	2817	1	n.c.	—
Union p. 1	3600	57	n.c.	—
Discount A r	2823	347	+28	+1.0
Discount p. 2	4843	11	n.c.	—
Discount p. 3	4843	184	n.c.	—
Discount B	3670	2	n.c.	—
Discount C	540	358	n.c.	—
Mizrahi r	1570	1257	+27	+1.8
Mizrahi p	1560	60	—	—
Mizrahi p. 1	3698	18	+103	+3.0
Mizrahi p. 2	1025	11	n.c.	—
Mizrahi p. 3	13188	h.o.1	+628	+5.0
Mizrahi p. 4	1718	1626	+50	+3.0
Mizrahi p. 5	192	501	+5	+2.7
Mizrahi p. 6	105	411	n.c.	—
Hapolum p. 1	3295	1	+96	+3.0
Hapolum p. 2	2209	208	—	—
Hapolum p. 3	2582	572	+12	+0.5
Hapolum p. 4	—	—	—	—
Hapolum p. 5	5000	149	+30	+0.6
Hapolum p. 6	15565	69	+1415	+9.0
Hapolum p. 7	10687	101	+972	+9.0

Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
General A	6540	169	+190	+3.0
General p. 1	13000	—	n.c.	—
General p. 2	14200	3	n.c.	—
General p. 3	5800	4	n.c.	—
General p. 4	4925	16	n.c.	—
General p. 5	328	431	n.c.	—
General p. 6	61640	3548	n.c.	—
Leumi p. 1	2151	315	+16	+0.8
Leumi p. 2	2409	475	+219	+9.0
Leumi p. 3	620	404	n.c.	—
Leumi p. 4	1120	38	—	—
Leumi p. 5	2147	38	—	—
Leumi p. 6	1156	4	+128	+10.0
Leumi p. 7	1980	1	n.c.	—
Leumi p. 8	3558	41	+14	+0.4
Leumi p. 9	650	25	+25	+3.8
Leumi p. 10	1118	91	+170	+17.0
Leumi p. 11	370	30	—	—
Leumi p. 12	103	932	n.c.	—
Leumi p. 13	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 14	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 15	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 16	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 17	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 18	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 19	240	461	+10	+4.0
Leumi p. 20	240	461	+10	+4.0

Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
Mortgage Banks				
Adasim 0.1	923	3	n.c.	—
Gen Mortgage	1368	3	—	—
Gen Mortgage	1368	3	—	—
Carmel r	1275	5	n.c.	—
Carmel p. 1	650	25	+25	+3.8
Carmel p. 2	143	178	n.c.	—
Carmel p. 3	1792	175	+720	+40.0
Carmel p. 4	900	7	n.c.	—
Carmel p. 5	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 6	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 7	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 8	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 9	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 10	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 11	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 12	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 13	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 14	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 15	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 16	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 17	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 18	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 19	308	8	—	—
Carmel p. 20	308	8	—	—

Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
Financing Institutions				
Shilon r	115	145	+4	+3.6
Shilon p. 1	751	—	—	—
Shilon p. 2	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 3	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 4	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 5	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 6	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 7	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 8	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 9	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 10	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 11	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 12	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 13	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 14	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 15	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 16	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 17	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 18	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 19	803	4	—	—
Shilon p. 20	803	4	—	—

Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
Insurance				
Arich r	333	74	+10	+3.1
Arich p. 1	2970	20	n.c.	—
Arich p. 2	429	h.o.1	+21	+5.0
Arich p. 3	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 4	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 5	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 6	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 7	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 8	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 9	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 10	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 11	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 12	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 13	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 14	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 15	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 16	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 17	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 18	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 19	172	34	—	—
Arich p. 20	172	34	—	—

Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
Services & Utilities				
Galei Zohar r	325	26	+3	+0.9
Galei Zohar p. 1	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 2	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 3	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 4	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 5	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 6	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 7	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 8	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 9	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 10	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 11	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 12	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 13	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 14	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 15	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 16	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 17	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 18	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 19	391	63	+2	+0.5
Galei Zohar p. 20	391	63	+2	+0.5

Company	Price	Volume	Change	%
Land, Building, Citrus				
Oren	139	81	n.c.	—
Oren p. 1	156	16	+3	+2.0
Oren p. 2	130	273	n.c.	—
Oren p. 3	117	97	+1	+0.9
Oren p. 4	160	16	+5	+3.2
Oren p. 5	25	115	n.c.	—
Oren p. 6	43	10	+1	+2.3
Oren p. 7	35	—	—	—
Oren p. 8	216	120	n.c.	—
Oren p. 9	422	9	+12	+2.8
Oren p. 10	2450	35	+150	+6.1
Oren p. 11	2450	35	+150	+6.1
Oren p. 12	2450	35	+150	+6.1
Oren p. 13	2450	35	+150	+6.1



Ari Ruth  
Editor and  
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM  
POST

Erwin Frenkel  
Editor

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## The contentious pact

LEBANESE Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan's remarks over the weekend concerning last May's Israel-Lebanon accord will have done little to allay the suspicions of those who still believe that the pact is relevant to the future of relations between the two countries.

In an obvious attempt to placate the Syrians and demonstrate that the accord they so vehemently oppose is no more than an instrument to get Israel out of Lebanon, Mr. Wazzan blatantly voided the agreement of any validity whatever once Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon. He suggested that the pact, already "frozen," would become meaningless at that time.

It is not clear if this will have done anything to soften Syria's insistence that the pact be scrapped, but it will certainly have kindled a red light for those Israelis already sceptical of Lebanon's good faith.

The future of the pact will be a subject of discussion this week in the White House, first between President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defence Minister Moshe Arens, and then between the U.S. president and the Lebanese president, Amin Jemayel.

President Jemayel is caught in a double bind. For while Syria has made it clear that its forces will remain in northern and eastern Lebanon if the pact with Israel is not scrapped, Israel has been insisting that its forces will stay on in southern Lebanon if the accord is abrogated. Mr. Jemayel will be looking to Washington to extricate him from this impasse.

Just what Washington can do to help him is not clear. It has no leverage on Syria, as events of the past year have shown, so there is little it can offer Mr. Jemayel from that quarter — unless, of course, the current spate of rumours about President Assad's health proves to have substance and does, in fact, presage a period of political upheaval in Damascus that could draw Syrian forces out of Lebanon.

Israel, however, is a different story. Washington does have some influence over Jerusalem, and Mr. Jemayel can be expected to ask the Americans to use this in a bid to have Israel drop the demand that the accord be implemented to the letter. In particular, he will probably try to get Washington to persuade Israel to forgo, or at least downplay, most of the non-military aspects of the pact — those that Damascus finds objectionable, but which Jerusalem, as Mr. Shamir made clear before his departure, holds to be vital.

An arrangement that provided for Israel's security interests in southern Lebanon but that contained no overt political elements such as the normalization of trade could probably be "sold" to Damascus as an effective abrogation of the accord, if coupled with Israel's tacit recognition of Syria's own security interests in eastern Lebanon.

That Israel would agree to any such arrangement is highly unlikely. But there can be little doubt that Washington will be putting out feelers, if nothing more, along these lines in the talks with Messrs. Shamir and Arens, in anticipation of Mr. Jemayel's visit later in the week.

NOW THAT the six Israelis long incarcerated by the PLO have returned home, and we are past the superheated celebrations, more sober voices may be heard.

At the risk of sounding churlish, one can only deplore the orgy of emotional outpouring (in a sense whipped up) as misplaced, disproportionate and most damaging to national interest.

This was not our finest hour. The "carnival," as though we were celebrating a great victory, debased that finer national ethos, of each of us feeling responsible for the other and the IDF code of not abandoning members taken by the enemy. That code has the highest practical relevance to the fighting spirit of our forces.

Needless to say, our strictures of the mass hysteria exclude the families of the six prisoners, and the six themselves, and all share in their personal relief.

The wild celebration which was "semi-organized" and which verged on infantilism, is to be denounced as objectionable and damaging on two levels — the practical and the more imponderable, the effect on the national psyche.

The practical damage of the repatriation extravaganza is that we ourselves encourage the other side, the PLO or whoever, to raise the ante, the price to be paid for the release of prisoners. Years ago the price was scores of security prisoners, then hundreds and now thousands.

It's no secret that the Ansar

detainee camp was partly, and probably mostly, set up as "reserve ransom" for a future prisoner-exchange, which was part of the price of the Lebanon war. Ansar, all agree, was a costly venture, not least for the IDF men who had to guard and administer the sprawling encampment of terrorists, or suspected terrorists or whatever. Is this to become a precedent? Will we need to build other Ansars in future hostilities as a reserve ransom to keep down the number of hard-core terrorists held inside Israel to be released in other prisoner exchanges?

There's no way of concealing from the enemy Israel's ultra-sensitivity to prisoners-of-war being taken or to the abduction of Israeli civilians. The other side is well aware of this, of what a small population like ours feels about casualties, the missing, and prisoners. We don't have to keep reminding them, as we did in last week's prisoner repatriation festival, to foster their sense of blackmail bargaining power.

One can safely surmise that the top IDF brass, including the chief-

of-staff himself, would come out publicly against last week's mass-hysteria, were they to feel free to do so.

AS FOR the effects on the national psyche, the exaggeration, synthetic self-gratification, and the make-believe seen in the celebration did incalculable harm. The double-think of turning an unavoidable surrender to black mail into a victory to be celebrated leads to dishonest obscurantism. A habitual refusal to face hard facts is not an asset for this beleaguered island. We descend to the level of a TV serial like *Dolby*, that of canned myth.

One can also ask whether there is a shred of evidence that our prisoners were mistreated by their PLO jailers. True, the prisoners were being held in Tripoli and subjected to bombardment in the factional fighting among the PLO, and the argument here is not about the price paid for their release. The point is that an absurd, self-defeating reaction engulfed the nation. No, it was forced on the nation.

How many times have we heard

that one of the reasons for Israel's ability to stand up to numerically superior enemies is that we tell ourselves the truth. They, as distinct from us, are tripped up by their own make-believe — remember those fictitious Arab communiques in the Six Day War, in which every defeat was make-believed to victory?

Double-think led to the six prisoners being hailed like Entebbe heroes, as though they'd performed some daring action in order to be taken prisoner. Not the fault of the six; perhaps they themselves were embarrassed by the heroism imposed on them.

The wild fervour, over the Redemption of Captives, that swept the country did not entirely happen of itself. For once it is difficult to lay responsibility for this on the *askan* political fraternity. Apparently they, too, were swept along with what was happening.

Unfortunately, an accusing finger must be pointed at the media, which unleashed their professional efficiency as impresarios of pathos. It happened mindlessly, though the media were not unprepared, and had been off-the-record briefed by

the authorities, days before event.

The original culprit, the one set the tone for the rest of media, which by nature is prone to contagion, was the Broadcasting Authority. Kol Yisrael, in an decision, kept an "open state" (*gal panu*) the day of the repatriation and was followed by a sp. mid-day one-hour television broadcast.

How the broadcasters were and drilled, to fill the time, their fault; they were the vic. Ultimate responsibility rests the Broadcasting Authority management and the chiefs of radio and of TV. Granted, broadcasters, and perhaps media in general, seem to be that "more is better." They are famous for judicious and aest taste (and it hurts to say this, siding how the *askan* establishment politicians, o stripes, jump on any error for own personal political interest.

The rest of the media, those followed in the tracks of the b. casters, and firstly the influ. forum, the Editors Committee the daily newspapers, ought ponder on their witless role i pseudo-carnival, the synthetic which only devalues wh genuine, and whittles away a real sources of the nat strength. This is not the deval we need.

The writer is a member of Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

## Why did the banks do it?

By J. VOET

OVER THE PAST few weeks, many of us have been asking ourselves the same questions. Why did the banks buy shares on such a lavish scale? Why did they push the prices of these shares to unreasonable heights? Why did nearly all the banks do it? Didn't they know it was dangerous?

These lines do not deal with the legal and moral, only with the financial and economic aspects of the affair, and its far-reaching consequences.

In the early 1970s, some banks started to "regulate" the price of their shares, either directly or through subsidiaries on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. This was done by buying and selling their shares as demand and supply increased or decreased. This kind of *Kurspflege* — fixing the quotation — is not illegal in Israel, but quite normal, as in many European countries. In England and the United States it is illegal.

The organization of the stock exchanges in London or New York is quite different to that of Tel Aviv. In these bigger markets, the banks do not dominate trading, as is the case in Israel and in some European countries. Buying and selling is done through securities brokers.

In addition, there are specialists — called jobbers in London —

whose task it is to "create a regular market" in a given share or group of shares. This is to avoid excessive price regulation, which can easily occur if the price is based solely on the sometimes irregular demand or supply of the securities traded.

Tel Aviv has no specialists or jobbers, and the task of creating a regular market is left to the companies who have their shares quoted on the stock exchange. They fix the quotation of their own security and see that prices do not fluctuate wildly. This practice, which is frowned upon in England and America, is quite acceptable on the European continent. It has, for some decades, worked well in Israel too. The trouble started when the banks' regulation of their share prices went in one direction only: up.

OF COURSE, the banks knew that what they were doing was unusual, even dangerous. Regulating clearly means going up and down, steady-ing the probably hectic price fluctuation based only on an irregular daily supply and demand. But what it has never meant is leading the price trend in one direction only, regardless of supply and demand, without taking into account the achievements of the enterprise, whether good, less good or even bad.

Of course, this unusual behaviour was frequently discussed by responsible people in the banks — mostly, behind closed doors, unfortunately. Usually the answer given was: the banks have no choice. If they want to expand they have to raise new capital.

To be sure, a bank's capital has to stand in a certain relationship to the loans the bank grants its customers from the deposits placed with it.

The capital and its reserves are a safeguard for losses on loans. Deposits are holy. The bank must, under all circumstances, be able to pay them back to their rightful owners.

Also, foreign banks which grant substantial credits to our local banking system naturally demand a satisfactory relationship between capital and outstanding loans.

Thus, expanding is conditional on raising capital. And that the banks can only do when their shares show a more attractive yield than government bonds. In our inflation-ridden country, this means outdoing the rapidly rising index.

Unfortunately, the banks' profits, although quite satisfactory, could not and cannot compete with the rise of the index. Instead of accepting the verdict of the capital market and expanding much more slowly because of the impossibility of raising additional funds by normal methods, the banks pushed the prices of their own shares up to equal the index and beyond.

ONE BIG BANK started on this dangerous path. Others followed, fearing that they would lose their share of the market if this unusual method of acquiring new capital proved to be successful. And successful it was — in the beginning. Even when so-called small savers put their money in bank shares and businesses stored their liquid funds in these securities for a short time, bank managers who knew perfectly well that their shares were not the right vehicle for that kind of money, continued on the dangerous road.

This is incomprehensible, even today. It can only be explained by an unacceptable urge to expand at almost any risk, stimulated by the fear of trailing behind in the fight for a bigger share of the market.

More sensible behaviour on the part of the banks, accepting the verdict of the capital market, would have resulted in less expansion, fewer and less luxurious branches, less wasteful advertising and smaller loans. It would all probably have been more in accordance with what the country can afford.

Everything went well for quite some time, until the investing public decided that dollar deposits were even more attractive than bank shares. They started to sell. And the rest — if not yet fully recorded — is history.

WHAT ABOUT the future? The public is still selling bank shares, although the agreement reached with the government makes them the most attractive investment presently available on the market. Their prices remain steady in shekel terms. In dollars, and that is the way the price has to be calculated, the quotation dropped by 3 per cent between November 1 and November 16. At this price the yield is 13 per cent annually, tax-free. As a government-guaranteed, liquid dollar obligation, there is nothing that can beat it.

The agreement between the banks and the government has many consequences. Not everything can be foreseen, but several things are already clear at this juncture. There is no difference whatsoever between the shares of the banks who entered into the agreement: Bank Leumi, Bank Hapoalim, Israel Discount Bank, the United Mizrahi Bank, the Union Bank or the General Bank of Israel. They all have a floor price: 104 per cent of their dollar value on October 6, 1983 will be paid out on October 31, 1983.

The rightful holder who informs the government between August 15 and September 30, 1983 of his wish to sell his shares will receive that amount.

The only preference one can have

for one bank share over another the chance that some of the may do so well that within this year period their shares will mand an even higher price i stock exchange than government-guaranteed ones. viously, the smaller banks b better chance of doing so c it's probably only a small c than their bigger colleagues.

The fact that the public still to get rid of its shares has ma government — already at this stage — the biggest shareholder, all the banks, with a particl ranging from 15 per cent to cent. It is, of course, irre whether the government, ultimately provided the mon the recent mass purchases, the shares directly, or through panies under its jurisdiction. Everybody is curious to see government will use the inf thus acquired to check o banks, or interfere in manag policies, streamlining operati personnel changes. The Tr has plenty of other worrie moment, but in due course it as the biggest shareholder, l attention to the ways its prog managed.

THERE IS A curious para the history of Israel's bank dustry. Israel's most infl finance minister, Pinchas Sap afraid of the growing powe country's big banks. The g ment only had a say in th small, fully owned, Marime Sapir therefore urged the o of a few small banks, whic with substantial investme abroad and with ample gove assistance, combined into th International Bank of Israel hoped that FBI would devel something like a fourth big giving the government a say commercial banking field.

The October agreement l all the major big banks, an smaller ones, under the wing government. But the Mi Bank and FBI, who did not the agreement, remain outsi affairs.

The writer is a commentator on e affairs.

### READERS' LETTERS

#### INSIGNIA FOR THE WOUNDED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — My son was wounded in Lebanon. When he recuperated enough to walk, he was discharged from service until a second operation could be performed. Instead of remaining inactive at home, he volunteered his services to the IDF. However, with a smashed leg and the loss of sight in one eye, all he was fit to do was clerical work at the Town Major's Office. There he comes into contact with angry men and their families who too often scoff and jeer at the soldier in uniform for being a "jobnik." He is open to unfair mockery, derision and humiliation.

#### EGYPTIAN WELCOME

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I have just read your review of Mrs. Ben-Elissar's book about her stay in Egypt as the wife of the first Israeli Ambassador (November 4).

I myself went to Cairo some three years ago for a 10-day visit. After my passport was returned, I found a large portion of animal feces on the bed of my hotel room. I left the next day — my fourth in the Land of the Pharaohs (I couldn't get an El Al flight the same day).

It is hard to understand the endless thousands of Israeli visitors

I wrote to the Chief of Staff's office to suggest giving a pin, similar to the Purple Heart insignia of the U.S. army, to all soldiers wounded who return to serve. The reply, after four months of deliberation, was that there was no room for granting any pin to soldiers who were wounded and returned to serve as it had not been done in previous wars. Where is our compassion for these boys who gave so much only to be held up to ridicule by the unknown public? An insignia costing a few agorot could save much heartache.

AN ANGRY FATHER  
(Name and address supplied)  
Jerusalem.

#### WIND POWER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — With regard to Charles Hoffman's story of November 14 about wind power in Israel, we would like to comment just for the record.

Shimon Ben Dov, Manager of the Iscar Saw Plant at Ma'alot, has confirmed that they are quite satisfied with their wind turbine

which was put into operation early in 1982. It is living up to performance forecasts made for its type and size, and provides a source of electricity which is both ecologically beneficial and cost effective.

MIRIAM FLEISCHMAN,  
Public Relations,  
Iscar Ltd.  
Nahariya.

#### WRONG TERMINOLOGY

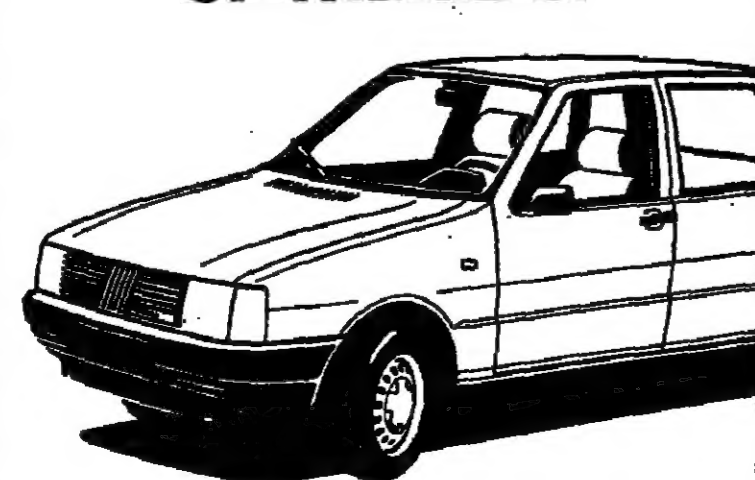
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — The "Jerusalem Post Reporter" (along with many government and party spokesmen) certainly lacks the propaganda instinct. The following sentence occurred in his article of October 27 entitled "Aren's is against closing bridges across the Awa!": "(Aren's) could not say whether the recent attacks (in which Israeli soldiers died) were the work of PLO fighters or Shias" (emphasis added) — thus blockheadedly employing the very same self-flattering terrorist propaganda terminology sold by the terrorists.

If it weren't so sad, it would be funny. ROBERT GREENGARD  
Holon.

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